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THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

1493-1898

The PHILIPPINE ISLANDS 1493-1898

Explorations by Early Navigators, Descriptions of the Islands and their Peoples, their History and Records of the Catholic Missions, as related in contemporaneous Books and Manuscripts, showing the Political, Economic, Commercial and Religious Conditions of those Islands from their earliest relations with European Nations to the close of the Nineteenth Century

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINALS

Edited and annotated by EMMA HELEN BLAIR and JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON, with historical introduction and additional notes by EDWARD GAYLORD BOURNE. With maps, portraits and other illustrations

Volume XXXIX—1683-1690

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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

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PREFACE

The present volume, which covers the period 1683-90, is mainly devoted to an account of the controversy between Archbishop Pardo and the religious orders on one side, and the secular government on the other – a conflict of which such events as the disputes between Salazar and Dasmariñas (1591) and Guerrero and Corcuera (1635-36) were but preliminary skirmishes. In this case the archbishop gains the ascendency, being reënforced by one of the governors.

Dampier's account of his sojourn in the islands is here concluded from the preceding volume. He finds the Mindanaos friendly to the English, but distrustful of the Dutch and Spaniards. They are ingenious and clever in metal-work, and with very primitive tools and appliances make excellent utensils and ship-repairs; another industry of theirs is shipbuilding. The English ship remains about a week on the southern shore of Mindanao, to wait for favorable weather, and then proceeds to the Rio Grande of Mindanao, where it arrives July 18. The natives there are anxious to secure trade with the English merchants, and Dampier regrets that his companions did not resolve to give up freebooting for Spice-Island trade, especially as they were so

well fitted, by experience and training, for establishing a trading-post, and had an excellent equipment for that purpose. The English officers maintain friendly intercourse with the natives, which enables them to see much of Malay life and customs. Some of the English sailors desert here, some are poisoned by the natives, and most of the crew become drunken and disaffected. The captain neglects to discipline them, and finally the crew sail away with their ship and leave him (January 14, 1687), with thirty-six of his men, at Mindanao. They halt at Guimarás Island to "scrub" their ship and lay in water; then (February 10) sail northward past Panay. At Mindoro they encounter some Indians, from whom they gain information as to the commerce of Manila, which they intend to attack and pillage. On February 23, the English begin their piratical acts in the Philippines by capturing a Spanish bark, near the coast of Luzón. After describing that island, he relates how some of the English sailors left at Mindanao find their way to Manila. The men on Dampier's vessel, not finding the Chinese vessels that they expected to seize, decide to wait on the coast of Cambodia and Siam until the time when the Acapulco galleon is expected. Having cruised along the mainland until July 29, they direct their course to the Batanes Islands, north of Luzón, arriving there August 6; they trade with the natives, clean the ship, and lay in provisions, intending to go afterward to harry the Manila commerce. But a fierce storm arises (September 25), driving them about for a week, and disheartening the men; and finally (October 3) they sail from the northern end of Luzón past the eastern coast of that island and Leyte, until

they reach Sarangani, where they halt to repair their ship. Departing thence November 2, they go to Australia, and Dampier soon afterward leaves the ship – spending the next four years in the Malasian Islands, and, after numerous and varied adventures, arriving in England in September, 1691.

Francisco de Villalva, procurator for the Dominicans at Madrid, petitions for royal aid in sending forty missionaries of that order to the Philippines.

Some unknown Jesuit furnishes a "diary of events from June, 1686 to June, 1687." These include the arrivals and departures of ships from the port of Cavite; the deaths of prominent persons; the dissensions between the Jesuits and the archbishop, and between the religious orders; the conflicts between governor and Audiencia, and their relations with the archbishop; attacks by pirates; and other news-items, of miscellaneous character. A similar record (whether by the same hand is uncertain) continues through 1688.

A notable event in the history of the islands was the controversy (1681-89) between Archbishop Pardo and the secular authorities. Hundreds of documents and printed books are extant concerning this dispute, but our limited space will not allow us to reproduce many of these; it seems most useful for our purpose to give an outline of the main events during that time, as told by some of those who took part therein, both secular and religious, and representing different sides of the controversy. These contemporary documents are reënforced with abundant citations from the chroniclers of the religious orders – the Augustinian Diaz, the Jesuit Murillo Velarde, the Dominican Salazar, and the Recollect

Concepción; these are found in the annotations accompanying our text. The first account is that written by Juan Sánchez, secretary of the Audiencia, dated June 15, 1683; he relates the difficulties which arose between the secular and the religious authorities during the three years preceding that date – that controversy having begun in 1680, with the complaint of the cura of Vigan against the acting head of the diocese of Nueva Segovia, that the latter does not reside at the seat of that bishopric, and interferes with the above cura. The Audiencia undertakes to settle the affair, and the archbishop insists that it belongs to his jurisdiction. His cathedral chapter are offended at certain proceedings of his, and jealous of the influence acquired over him by Fray Raimundo Berart, a friar of the Dominican order (to which Pardo also belongs). The new bishop of Nueva Segovia also claims that the Vigan case belongs to his jurisdiction, not the archbishop's. Several other cases occur in which Pardo acts in an arbitrary manner, among them his seizure of a shipment of goods for the Jesuits, and his excommunication of a Jesuit for declining to render him an accounting in a certain executorship entrusted to the latter – Ortega alleging that this affair, as purely secular, pertains to the Audiencia alone. The Audiencia endeavor to restrain Pardo, but in vain; and the strained relations between them quickly grow into open hostilities. The situation is complicated by various antagonistic elements, which may be briefly summarized thus: The archbishop's arbitrary conduct toward his own clerics and other persons, and his strenuous insistence on his ecclesiastical prerogatives; the undue influence over him ob-

tained by his Dominican brethren; the jealousies between the various religious orders; and, still more fundamental, the unceasing conflict between ecclesiastical and secular authority – the latter embodied mainly in the Audiencia, as the governors often ranged themselves against that tribunal, under the pressure of ecclesiastical influence. To these may be added the remoteness of the colony from Spain, and its smallness, which renders the limits within which these human forces are at work more narrow and circumscribed, and therefore intensifies their action. After a long conflict between Pardo and the Audiencia, in which their weapons are used freely on both sides – decrees, appeals, protests, censures, and legal technicalities of every sort, civil and canonical – that tribunal decides (October 1, 1682) to banish the archbishop, a sentence which is not executed until May 1, 1683. He is then seized by the officials of the Audiencia, and deported to Lingayén, a village in Cagayán. His assistant bishop, Barrientos, demands the right to act in Pardo's place; but his claim is set aside in favor of the cathedral chapter, or cabildo – which declares the see vacant in consequence of Pardo's exile. Another Dominican, Francisco de Villalba, is banished to Nueva España for seditious preaching; and others are sent to Cagayán.

The narration of events in Manila is continued in another document, from July, 1684, to June, 1685; this account is unsigned, but it suggests the hand of the preceding writer, Sánchez. On August 24 of the former year occurs the formal entrance into the city of the new governor, Curuzelaegui. This change of administration gives opportunity for the return of the banished Dominicans, and an agitation for the

restoration of Pardo to his see, which is quickly accomplished. Soon he lays an iron hand on all persons who had formerly opposed him. Excommunications are imposed on ex-governor Vargas, the auditors, and other persons concerned in the archbishop's banishment; and the members of the cathedral chapter are suspended, and their official acts during his absence are annulled. They are not absolved until near the end of Lent (1685), and this is done in public, and very harshly, with great humiliation to the penitents. At the urgent remonstrances and entreaties of Curuzelaegui, Pardo finally consents to absolve the ex-governor, Vargas; but he loads this concession with conditions so grievous and humiliating that Vargas is unwilling to accept them.

Another unsigned document relates the "occurrences during the government of Cruzalaegui," of which a part, relating to the Pardo controversy only, is placed here with others on that subject; it covers only the first year, 1684-85. This writer also sympathizes with the auditors; his account is given mainly as an index of popular feeling on one side of the controversy. A letter from Auditor Bolivar to his agent at Madrid (June 15, 1685) presents an interesting view of the affair from the inside, and of the intrigues which kept Manila in a ferment during most of Pardo's term of office. Bolivar dares not write to the Council of the Indias, lest his letters be seized; he therefore directs his agent to take certain measures in his behalf, "for one cannot trust in friars." He recounts the proceedings in the residencia of Vargas, in which there are many false witnesses. He thinks that the Spaniards of Manila are more fickle than any others, and regards that colony

as "a little edition of hell." He is eager to get away from the islands, and urges his friend to secure for him permission to do so, and to make arrangements so that he may not be needlessly detained in the islands. A letter from the Jesuit Pimentel (February 8, 1686) relates the scheming by which Pardo's return from exile was facilitated. Another unsigned paper contains "news since the year 1688;" the writer claims that his intention is "only that the truth may be known." This account is mainly occupied with the fate of the auditors and other officials who had incurred Pardo's wrath by taking part in his banishment. They are subjected to imprisonment, privation, and exile; a reign of terror prevails in Manila; and the governor is in close alliance with the archbishop, so that there "is no recourse, except to God." The writer mentions several things in condemnation of the governor's personal character, and regards him as unscrupulous and tyrannical. Finally, the Dominican account of this controversy is related by Vicénte de Salazar, one of the official historians of that order, in his biography of Pardo. In 1677 that prelate enters upon the vacant see of Manila; he finds many ecclesiastical abuses and social scandals, and much official corruption. Undertaking to correct these, he incurs the enmity of many persons, and the ecclesiastical tribunal is filled with cases. For nearly three years the relations of the archbishop with the governor and Audiencia remain friendly; but finally (1680) certain ecclesiastics under censure have recourse to the Audiencia against the archbishop's authority, and this soon leads to hostilities between the religious and secular branches of the government. Next the cathedral chapter become in-

subordinate to Pardo, their proper head, and they too appeal to the Audiencia; and a long legal war ensues, in which the weapons are official acts on both sides. At last (in 1682) the Audiencia decree Pardo's banishment from his see, but hold this measure in suspense for a time. He irritates the Jesuits, by proceeding against one of their number who is acting as executor for an estate, and seizes goods belonging to that order which are brought by the Acapulco galleon; and soon the archbishop encounters complaints and clamors from all sides. The decree of banishment is enforced, and Pardo is arrested (March 31, 1683) and deported to the village of Lingayén, in the province of Pangasinán. The cabildo assume the government of the archbishopric, ignoring Pardo's appointment of Barrientos to that office; and many of Pardo's supporters are banished or otherwise chastised. A new governor coming to the islands, the archbishop is reinstated in his see (November 16, 1685); and the case is afterward decided by the courts of Rome and Madrid in his favor. He finds much to do in restoring his church to its former condition, and defending the ecclesiastical rights and privileges – an undertaking which keeps him engaged in conflicts, but cannot abate his zeal and constancy. In the outcome he is vindicated, even God taking vengeance on the enemies of the archbishop, whose saintly qualities are extolled by Salazar. Pardo dies on December 31, 1689.

A royal official comes to the islands (1688) to bring suit against the auditors who had banished the archbishop; but he finds that all of them are dead, except Bolivar, and even he dies while on his way to Manila. Accounts (*ca.* 1690) of Valdivia's proceed-

ings are given by a Dominican and a Jesuit respectively (as appears from internal evidence). He reconciles the Jesuits and the Dominicans in Manila; sends Vargas, sentenced in residencia to pay 100,000 pesos, to Pangasinán; and sides with the archbishop in everything. This encourages Pardo to continue taking vengeance on his enemies; and he and Valdivia chastise whomsoever they will, in highly arbitrary fashion – the visitor aiding Pardo in many cases, and in others inflicting penalties on citizens of Manila in connection with purely secular affairs. Vargas is sent into exile, the archbishop refusing to the last to absolve him, notwithstanding the commands of the Audiencia. The second letter, written from Nueva España (probably 1691), apparently by a Jesuit, relates briefly the proceedings of Valdivia in the islands. The writer sends a warning to combat the influences that will be exerted at court to secure the see for Barrientos; and asserts that Valdivia has appropriated to himself great wealth (part of which has been seized) obtained from the Manila proceedings. The governor died in April, 1690.

THE EDITORS

May, 1906.

MISCELLANEOUS DOCUMENTS, 1683-1690

Dampier in the Philippines (concluded). William Dampier; 1697.

Petition for Dominican missionaries. Francisco de Villalva; [1687?].

Events in Filipinas, 1686-88. [Unsigned and undated.]

The Pardo controversy. Juan Sanchez, and others; 1683-89.

Official visitation by Valdivia. [Unsigned; 1689-90.]

SOURCES: The first document is concluded from VOL. XXXVIII, *q.v.* The second is obtained from a rare pamphlet in the British Museum; the third and fifth, from the Ventura del Arco MSS., iii, pp. 625-638, 727-732; and 589-596, 641-673; the fourth, mainly from the same volume, with additions from Retana's *Archivo*, i, no. iv, and Salazar's *Hist. Sant. Rosario*, pp. 490-513.

TRANSLATIONS: All save the first document are translated by Emma Helen Blair.

DAMPIER IN THE PHILIPPINES
(*Concluded*)

CHAP. XII

Of the Inhabitants, and Civil State of the Isle of Mindanao. *The* Mindanayans, Hilanoones, Sologues, *and* Alfoorees. *Of the* Mindanayans, *properly so called; Their Manners and Habits. The Habits and Manners of their Women. A Comical Custom at* Mindanao. *Their Houses, their Diet, and Washings. The Languages spoken there, and Transactions with the* Spaniards. *Their fear of the* Dutch, *and seeming desire of the* English. *Their Handy-crafts, and peculiar sort of Smiths Bellows. Their Shipping, Commodities, and Trade. The* Mindanao *and* Manila *Tobacco. A sort of Leprosie there, and other Distempers. Their Marriages. The* Sultan *of* Mindanao, *his Poverty, Power, Family,* &c. *The Proes or Boats here.* Raja Laut *the General, Brother of the* Sultan, *and his Family. Their way of Fighting. Their Religion.* Raja Laut's *Devotion. A Clock or Drum in their Mosques. Of their* Circumcision, *and the Solemnity then used. Of other their Religious Observations and Superstitions. Their abhorrence of Swines Flesh,* &c.

This Island is not subject to one Prince, neither is

the Language one and the same; but the People are much alike, in colour, strength, and stature. They are all or most of them of one Religion, which is Mahometanism, and their customs and manner of living are alike. The *Mindanao* People, more particularly so called, are the greatest Nation in the Island, and trading by Sea with other Nations, they are therefore the more civil. I shall say but little of the rest, being less known to me, but so much as hath come to my knowledge, take as follows. There are besides the *Mindanayans*, the *Hilanoones*, (as they call them) or the *Mountaneers*, the *Sologues* and *Alfoores*.[1]

The *Hilanoones* live in the Heart of the Country: They have little or no commerce by Sea, yet they have Proe's that row with 12 or 14 Oars apiece. They enjoy the benefit of the Gold Mines; and with their Gold buy forreign Commodities of the *Mindanao* People. They have also plenty of Bees-Wax, which they exchange for other Commodities.

The *Sologues* inhabit the N.W. end of the Island.[2] They are the least Nation of all; they Trade to *Manila* in Proes, and to some of the neighboring Islands, but have no Commerce with the *Mindanao* People.

The *Alfoores* are the same with the *Mindanayans*,

[1] The Mindanayans are the Mindanaos or Maguindanaos; the Hilanoones are the Ilanos; the Sologues cannot well be identified. "Alfoores" is a corruption of the Portuguese "Alforas," which is derived from the Arabic "al" and the preposition "fora" without. The term was applied by the Portuguese to all natives beyond their authority, and hence to the wild tribes of the interior. See Crawfurd's *Dictionary*, p. 10.

[2] Apparently referring, if one may trust to Dampier's points of compass, to the region about Dapitan, as the Indians of that quarter were among the first subdued by the Spaniards in Mindanao.

and were formerly under the subjection of the Sultan of *Mindanao*, but were divided among the Sultan's Children, and have of late had a Sultan of their own; but having by Marriage contracted an alliance with the Sultan of *Mindanao*, this has occasioned that Prince to claim them again as his Subjects; and he made War with them a little after we went away, as I afterwards understood.

The *Mindanayans* properly so called, are Men of mean statures; small Limbs, straight Bodies, and little Heads. Their Faces are oval, their Foreheads flat, with black small Eyes, short low Noses, pretty large Mouths; their Lips thin and red, their Teeth black, yet very sound, their Hair black and straight, the colour of their Skin tawney, but inclining to a brighter yellow than some other *Indians*, especially the Women. They have a Custom to wear their Thumb-nails very long, especially that on their left Thumb, for they do never cut it but scrape it often. They are indued with good natural Wits, are ingenious, nimble, and active, when they are minded; but generally very lazy and thievish, and will not work except forced by Hunger. This laziness is natural to most *Indians*; but these People's lazinesz seems rather to proceed not so much from their natural Inclinations, as from the severity of their Prince of whom they stand in awe: For he dealing with them very arbitrarily, and taking from them what they get, this damps their Industry, so they never strive to have any thing but from Hand to Mouth. They are generally proud, and walk very stately. They are civil enough to Strangers, and will easily be acquainted with them, and entertain them with great freedom; but they are implacable to their

Enemies, and very revengeful if they are injured, frequently poisoning secretly those that have affronted them.

They wear but few Cloaths; their Heads are circled with a short turban, fringed or laced at both ends; it goes once about the Head, and is tied in a knot, the laced ends hanging down. They wear Frocks and Breeches, but no Stockings nor Shooes.

The Women are fairer than the Men; and their Hair is black and long; which they tie in a knot, that hangs back in their Poles. They are more round visaged than the Men, and generally well featured; only their Noses are very small, and so low between their Eyes, that in some of the Female Children the rising that should be between the Eyes is scarce discernable; neither is their any sensible rising in their Foreheads. At a distance they appear very well; but being nigh, these Impediments are very obvious. They have very small Limbs. They wear but two Garments; a Frock, and a sort of Petticoat; the Petticoat is only a piece of Cloth, sewed both ends together: but it is made two Foot too big for their Wastes, so that they may wear either end uppermost: that part that comes up to their Wastes, because it is so much too big, they gather it in their Hands, and twist it till it fits close to their Wastes, tucking in the twisted part between their Waste and the edge of the Petticoat, which keeps it close. The Frock fits loose about them, and reaches down a little below the Waste. The Sleeves are a great deal longer than their Arms, and so small at the end, that their Hands will scarce go through. Being on, the Sleeve fits in folds about the wrist, wherein they take great pride.

The better sort of People have their Garments

made of long Cloth; but the ordinary sort wear Cloth made of Plantain-tree, which they call Saggen;[3] by which name they call the Plantain. They have neither Stocking or Shooe, and the Women have very small Feet.

The Women are very desirous of the Company of Strangers, especially White Men; and doubtless would be very familiar, if the Custom of the Country did not debar them from that freedom, which seems coveted by them. Yet from the highest to the lowest they are allowed liberty to converse with, or treat strangers in the sight of their Husbands.

There is a kind of begging Custom at *Mindanao*, that I have not met elsewhere with in all my Travels; and which I believe is owing to the little Trade they have; which is thus: When Strangers arrive here, the *Mindanao* Men will come aboard, and invite them to their Houses, and inquire who has a *Comrade*, (which word I believe they have from the *Spaniards*) or a *Pagally*, and who has not. A *Comrade* is a familiar Male-friend; *a Pagally*[4] is an innocent Platonick Friend of the other Sex. All Strangers are in a manner oblig'd to accept of this Acquaintance and Familiarity, which must be first purchased with a small Present, and afterwards confirmed with some Gift or other to continue the Acquaintance: and as often as the Stranger goes ashore,

[3] The Tagálog word for "banana" is "saguing," which is thus almost identical with the Mindanaon term as reported phonetically by Dampier.

[4] Cf. Dyak *pangan* ("kinsman, comrade, or fellow"), also *panggal* ("pillow"), and *panggan* ("bedstead"); see Ling Roth's *Natives of Sarawak*, ii, p. xxvii. See Porter's *Primer and Vocabulary of Moro Dialect* (Washington, 1903) p. 65, where the Moro phrase for "sweetheart" is given as *babay* ("woman") *a magan pangaluman*.

he is welcome to his *Comrade* or *Pagally*'s House, where he may be entertained for his Money, to Eat, Drink, or Sleep, and complimented, as often as he comes ashore, with Tobacco and Betel-Nut, which is all the Entertainment he must expect *gratis*. The richest Mens Wives are allow'd the freedom to converse with her *Pagally* in publick, and may give or receive Presents from him. Even the Sultans and the Generals Wives, who are always coopt up, will yet look out of their Cages when a Stranger passeth by, and demand of him if he wants a *Pagally*: and to invite him to their Friendship, will send a Present of Tobacco and Betel-nut to him by their Servants.

The chiefest City on this Island is called by the same Name of *Mindanao*. It is seated on the South side of the Island, in lat. 7 d. 20 m. N. on the banks of a small River, about two Mile from the Sea. The manner of building is somewhat strange: yet generally used in this Part of the *East-Indies*. Their Houses are all built on Posts, about 14, 16, 18, or 20 Foot high. These Posts are bigger or less, according to the intended magnificence of the Superstructure. They have but one Floor, but many Partitions or Rooms, and a Ladder or Stairs to go up out of the Streets. The Roof is large, and covered with Palmeto or Palm-leaves. So there is a clear passage like a Piazza (but a filthy one) under the House. Some of the poorer People that keep Ducks or Hens, have a fence made round the Posts of their Houses, with a Door to go in and out; and this Under-room serves for no other use. Some use this place for the common draught of their Houses, but building mostly close by the River in all parts of the *Indies*, they make the River

receive all the filth of their House; and at the time of the Land-floods, all is washed very clean.

The Sultan's House is much bigger than any of the rest. It stands on about 180 great Posts or Trees, a great deal higher than the common Building, with great broad Stairs made to go up. In the first Room he hath about 20 Iron Guns, all Saker and Minion, placed on Field-Carriages. The General, and other great Men have some Guns also in their Houses. About 20 paces from the Sultan's House there is a small low House, built purposely for the Reception of Ambassadors or Merchant Strangers. This also stands on Posts, but the Floor is not raised above three or four Foot above the Ground, and is neatly Matted purposely for the Sultan and his Council to sit on; for they use no Chairs, but sit cross-legg'd like Taylors on the Floor.

The common Food at *Mindanao* is Rice, or Sago, and a small Fish or two. The better sort eat Buffalo, or Fowls ill drest, and abundance of Rice with it. They use no Spoons to eat their Rice, but every Man takes a handful out of the Platter, and by wetting his Hand in Water, that it may not stick to his Hand, squeezes it into a lump, as hard as possibly he can make it, and then crams it into his Mouth. They all strive to make these lumps as big as their Mouths can receive them; and seem to vie with each other, and glory in taking in the biggest lump; so that sometimes they almost choke themselves. They always wash after Meals, or if they touch any thing that is unclean; for which reason they spend abundance of Water in their Houses. This Water, with the washing of their Dishes, and what other filth they make, they pour down near their Fire-place: for their

Chambers are not boarded, but floored with split Bamboes, like Lathe, so that the Water presently falls underneath their dwelling Rooms, where it breeds Maggots, and makes a prodigious stink. Besides this filthiness, the sick People ease themselves, and make Water in their Chambers; there being a small hole made purposely in the Floor, to let it drop through. But healthy sound People commonly ease themselves, and make Water in the River. For that reason you shall always see abundance of People, of both Sexes in the River, from Morning till Night; some easing themselves, others washing their bodies or Cloaths. If they come into the River purposely to wash their Cloaths, they strip and stand naked till they have done; then put them on, and march out again: both Men and Women take great delight in swimming, and washing themselves, being bred to it from their Infancy. I do believe it is very wholsom to wash Mornings and Evenings in these hot Countries, at least three or four Days in the Week: For I did use my self to it when I lived afterwards at *Ben-cooly*, and found it very refreshing and comfortable. It is very good for those that have Fluxes to wash and stand in the Rivers Mornings and Evenings. I speak it experimentally; for I was brought very low with that distemper at *Achin*; but by washing constantly Mornings and Evenings I found great benefit, and was quickly cured by it.

In the City of *Mindanao* they speak two Languages indifferently; their own *Mindanao* Language, and the *Malaya*: but in other parts of the Island they speak only their proper Language, having little Commerce abroad. They have Schools, and instruct the Children to Read and Write, and bring them up

in the *Mahometan* Religion. Therefore many of the words, especially their Prayers, are in *Arabick*; and many of the words of civility the same as in *Turkey*; and especially when they meet in the Morning, or take leave of each other, they express themselves in that Language.

Many of the old People, both Men and Women, can speak *Spanish*, for the *Spaniards* were formerly settled among them, and had several Forts on this Island; and then they sent two Friers to the City, to convert the Sultan of *Mindanao* and his People. At that time these People began to learn *Spanish*, and the *Spaniards* incroached on them and endeavoured to bring them into subjection; and probably before this time had brought them all under their yoak, if they themselves had not been drawn off from this Island to *Manila*, to resist the *Chinese*, who threatened to invade them there. When the *Spaniards* were gone, the old Sultan of *Mindanao*, Father to the present, in whose time it was, razed and demolished their Forts, brought away their Guns, and sent away the Friers; and since that time will not suffer the *Spaniards* to settle on the Islands.

They are now most afraid of the *Dutch*, being sensible how they have inslaved many of the Neighboring Islands. For that Reason they have a long time desired the *English* to settle among them, and have offered them any convenient Place to build a Fort in, as the General himself told us; giving this Reason, that they do not find the *English* so incroaching as the *Dutch* or *Spanish*. The *Dutch* are no less jealous of their admitting the *English*, for they are sensible what detriment it would be to them if the *English* should settle here.

There are but few Tradesmen at the City of *Mindanao*. The chiefest Trades are Goldsmiths, Blacksmiths, and Carpenters. There are but two or three Goldsmiths; these will work in Gold or Silver, and make any thing that you desire: but they have no Shop furnished with Ware ready made for Sale. Here are several Blacksmiths who work very well, considering the Tools that they work with. Their Bellows are much different from ours. They are made of a wooden Cylinder, the Trunk of a Tree, about three Foot long, bored hollow like a Pump, and set upright on the ground, on which the Fire it self is made. Near the lower end there is a small hole, in the side of the Trunk next the Fire, made to receive a Pipe, through which the Wind is driven to the Fire by a great bunch of fine Feathers fastened to one end of the Stick, which closing up the inside of the Cylinder, drives the Air out of the Cylinder through the Pipe: Two of these Trunks or Cylinders are placed so nigh together, that a Man standing between them may work them both at once alternately, one with each Hand. They have neither Vice nor Anvil, but a great hard Stone or a piece of an old Gun, to hammer upon: yet they will perform their work making both common Utensils and Ironworks about Ships to admiration. They work altogether with Charcoal. Every Man almost is a Carpenter, for they can work with the Ax and Adds. Their Ax is but small, and so made that they can take it out of the Helve, and by turning it make an Adds of it. They have no Saws; but when they make Plank, they split the Tree in two, and make a Plank of each part, plaining it with the Ax and Adds. This requires much pains, and takes up a great deal

of time; but they work cheap, and the goodness of the Plank thus hewed, which hath its grain preserv'd entire, makes amends for their cost and pains.

They build good and serviceable Ships or Barks for the Sea, some for Trade, others for Pleasure; and some Ships of War. Their trading Vessels they send chiefly to *Manila*. Thither they transport Bees-wax, which, I think, is the only Commodity, besides Gold that they vend there. The Inhabitants of the City of *Mindanao* get a great deal of Bees-wax themselves: but the greatest quantity they purchase is of the Mountaneers, from whom they also get the Gold which they send to *Manila*; and with these they buy their Calicoes, Muslins, and *China* Silk. They send sometimes their Barks to *Borneo* and other Islands; but what they transport thither, or import from thence, I know not. The *Dutch* come hither in Sloops from *Ternate* and *Tidore*, and buy Rice, Bees-wax, and Tobacco: for there is a great deal of Tobacco grown on this Island, more than in any Island or Country in the *East-Indies*, that I know of, *Manila* only excepted. It is an excellent sort of Tobacco; but these People have not the Art of managing this Trade to their best advantage, as the *Spaniards* have at *Manila*. I do believe the Seeds were first brought hither from *Manila* by the *Spaniards*, and even thither, in all probability, from *America*: the difference between the *Mindanao* and *Manila* Tobacco is, that the *Mindanao* Tobacco is of a darker colour; and the Leaf larger and grosser than the *Manila* Tobacco, being propagated or planted in a fatter Soil. The *Manila* Tobacco is of a bright yellow colour, of an indifferent size, not strong, but Pleasant to Smoak. The *Spaniards* at *Manila* are

very curious about this Tobacco, having a peculiar way of making it up neatly in the Leaf. For they take two little Sticks, each about a Foot long, and flat, and placing the Stalks of the Tobacco Leaves in a row, 40 or 50 of them between the two Sticks, they bind them hard together, so that the Leaves hang dangling down. One of these bundles is sold for a Rial at Fort *St. George*: but you may have 10 or 12 pound of Tobacco at *Mindanao* for a Rial: and the Tobacco is as good, or rather better than the *Manila* Tobacco, but they have not that vent for it as the *Spaniards* have.

The *Mindanao* People are much troubled with a sort of Leprosie, the same as we observed at *Guam*. This Distemper runs with a dry Scurf all over their Bodies, and causeth great itching in those that have it, making them frequently scratch and scrub themselves, which raiseth the outer skin in small whitish flakes, like the scales of little Fish, when they are raised on end with a knife. This makes their skin extraordinary rough, and in some you shall see broad white spots in several parts of their Body. I judge such have had it, but are cured; for their skins were smooth, and I did not perceive them to scrub themselves: yet I have learnt from their own mouths that these spots were from this Distemper. Whether they use any means to cure themselves, or whether it goes away of it self, I know not: but I did not perceive that they made any great matter of it, for they did never refrain any Company for it; none of our People caught it of them, for we were afraid of it, and kept off. They are sometimes troubled with the Small Pox, but their ordinary Distempers are Fevers, Agues, Fluxes, with great pains, and grip-

ings in their Guts. The Country affords a great many Drugs and Medicinal Herbs, whose Virtues are not unknown to some of them that pretend to cure the Sick.

The *Mindanao* Men have many Wives: but what Ceremonies are used when they Marry I know not. There is commonly a great Feast made by the Bridegroom to entertain his Friends, and the most part of the Night is spent in Mirth.

The Sultan is absolute in his Power over all his Subjects. He is but a poor Prince; for as I mentioned before, they have but little Trade, and therefore cannot be rich. If the Sultan understands that any Man has Money, if it be but 20 Dollars, which is a great matter among them, he will send to borrow so much Money, pretending urgent occasions for it; and they dare not deny him. Sometimes he will send to sell one thing or another that he hath to dispose of, to such whom he knows to have Money, and they must buy it, and give him his price; and if afterwards he hath occasion for the same thing, he must have it if he sends for it. He is but a little Man, between 50 or 60 Years old, and by relation very good natured, but over-ruled by those about him.[5] He has a Queen, and keeps about 29 Women, or Wives more, in whose company he spends most of his time. He has one Daughter by his Sultaness or Queen, and a great many Sons and Daughters by the rest. These walk about the Streets, and would be always begging

[5] Corralat had two sons, Tiroley and Uadin, but they died young (see Retana's edition of Combés's *Hist. Mindanao*, col. 738, 739). The "sultan" mentioned by Dampier is probably the Curay who in 1701 fought a sort of duel with the sultan of Joló, in which both were killed. (Concepción, *Hist. de Philipinas*, viii, pp. 301, 302.)

things of us; but it is reported that the young Princess is kept in a Room, and never stirs out, and that she did never see any Man but her Father and *Raja Laut* her Uncle, being then about Fourteen Years Old.

When the Sultan visits his Friends, he is carried in a small Couch on four Mens shoulders, with eight or ten armed Men to guard him; but he never goes far this way; for the Country is very Woody, and they have but little Paths, which render it the less commodious. When he takes his pleasure by Water, he carries some of his Wives along with him. The Proes that are built for this purpose, are large enough to entertain 50 or 60 Persons or more. The Hull is neatly built, with a round Head and Stern, and over the Hull there is a small slight House built with Bamboes; the sides are made up with split Bamboes, about four Foot high, with little Windows in them of the same, to open and shut at their pleasure. The roof is almost flat, neatly thatched with Palmeto Leaves. This House is divided into two or three small Partitions or Chambers, one particularly for himself. This is neatly Matted underneath, and round the sides; and there is a Carpet and Pillows for him to sleep on. The second Room is for his Women, much like the former. The third is for the Servants, who tend them with Tobacco and Betel-Nut; for they are always chewing or smoking. The fore and after-parts of the Vessel are for the Marriners to sit and Row. Besides this, they have Outlayers, such as those I described at *Guam*; only the Boats and Outlayers here are larger. These Boats are more round, like the Half-Moon almost; and the Bamboes or Outlayers that reach from the Boat

are also crooked. Besides, the Boat is not flat on one side here, as at *Guam*; but hath a Belly and Outlayers on each side: and whereas at *Guam* there is a little Boat fasten'd to the Outlayers, that lies in the Water; the Beams or Bamboes here are fasten'd traverse-wise to the Outlayers on each side, and touch not the Water like Boats, but 1, 3 or 4 Foot above the Water, and serve for the Barge Men to sit and Row and paddle on; the inside of the Vessel, except only just afore and abaft, being taken up with the apartments for the Passengers. There run a-cross the Outlayers two tire of Beams for the Padlers to sit on, on each side the Vessel. The lower tire of these Beams is not above a Foot from the Water: so that upon any the least reeling of the Vessel, the Beams are dipt in the Water, and the Men that sit are wet up to their Waste: their Feet seldom escaping the Water. And thus as all our Vessels are Rowed from within, these are Paddled from without.

The Sultan hath a Brother called *Raja Laut*, a brave Man. He is the second Man in the Kingdom. All Strangers that come hither to Trade must make their Address to him, for all Sea Affairs belong to him. He Licenceth Strangers to Import or Export any Commodity, and 'tis by his Permission that the Natives themselves are suffered to Trade: Nay the very Fishermen must [t]ake a Permit from him: So that there is no Man can come into the River or go out but by his leave. He is two or three Years younger than the Sultan, and a little Man like him. He has eight Women, by some of whom he hath Issue. He hath only one Son, about twelve or fourteen Years old, who was Circumcised while we were

there. His Eldest Son died a little before we came hither, for whom he was still in great heaviness. If he had lived a little longer he should have Married the young Princess, but whether this second Son must have her I know not, for I did never hear any Discourse about it. *Raja Laut* is a very sharp Man; he speaks and writes *Spanish*, which he learned in his Youth. He has by often conversing with Strangers, got a great sight into the Customs of other Nations, and by *Spanish* Books has some knowledge of *Europe*. He is General of the *Mindanayans*, and is accounted an expert Soldier and a very stout Man; and the Women in their Dances, Sing many Songs in his praise.

The Sultan of *Mindanao* sometimes makes War with his Neighbors the *Mountaneers* or *Alfoores*. Their Weapons are Swords, Lances and some Hand-Cressets. The Cresset[6] is a small thing like a Baggonet, which they always wear in War or Peace, at Work or Play, from the greatest of them to the poorest, or the meanest Persons. They do never meet each other so as to have a pitcht Battle, but they build small Works or Forts of Timber, wherein they plant little Guns, and lie in sight of each other 2 or 3 Months, skirmishing every Day in small Parties, and sometimes surprizing a Brestwork; and whatever side is like to be worsted, if they have no probability to escape by flight, they sell their lives as dear as they can; for there is seldom any quarter given, but the Conqueror cuts and hacks his Enemies to pieces.

The Religion of these People is Mahometanism, *Friday* is their Sabbath; but I did never see any dif-

[6] Apparently referring to the weapon known as *kris*, which Dampier would liken to a bayonet.

ference that they make between this Day and any other Day, only the Sultan himself goes then to the Mosque twice. *Raja Laut* never goes to the Mosque, but Prays at certain Hours, Eight or Ten times in a Day; where-ever he is, he is very punctual to his Canonical Hours, and if he be aboard will go ashore, on purpose to Pray. For no Business nor Company hinders him from this Duty. Whether he is at home or abroad, in a House or in the Field, he leaves all his Company, and goes about 100 Yards off, and there kneels down to his Devotion. He first kisses the Ground, then prays aloud, and divers times in his Prayers he kisses the Ground, and does the same when he leaves off. His Servants, and his Wives and Children talk and sing, or play how they please all the time, but himself is very serious. The meaner sort of People have little Devotion: I did never see any of them at their Prayers, or go into a Mosque.

In the Sultan's Mosque there is a great Drum with but one Head called a *Gong*; which is instead of a Clock. This *Gong* is beaten at 12 a Clock, at 3, 6, and 9; a Man being appointed for that Service. He has a Stick as big as a Man's Arm, with a great knob at the end, bigger than a Man's Fist, made with Cotton, bound fast with small Cords: with this he strikes the *Gong* as hard as he can, about 20 strokes; beginning to strike leisurely the first 5 or 6 strokes; then he strikes faster, and at last strikes as fast as he can; and then he strikes again slower and slower so many strokes: thus he rises and falls three times, and then leaves off till three Hours after. This is done Night and Day.

They circumcise the Males at 11 or 12 Years of Age, or older; and many are circumcised at once.

This Ceremony is performed with a great deal of Solemnity. There had been no Circumcision for some Years before our being here; and then there was one for *Raja Laut*'s Son. They chuse to have a general Circumcision when the Sultan, or General, or some other great Person hath a Son fit to be Circumcised; for with him a great many more are Circumcised. There is notice given about 8 or 10 Days before for all Men to appear in Arms, and great preparation is made against the solemn Day. In the Morning before the Boys are Circumcised, Presents are sent to the Father of the Child, that keeps the Feast; which, as I said before, is either the Sultan, or some great Person: and about 10 or 11 a Clock the *Mahometan* Priest does his Office. He takes hold of the fore-skin with two Sticks, and with a pair of Scissors snips it off. After this most of the Men, both in City and Country being in Arms before the House, begin to act as if they were ingaged with an Enemy, having such Arms as I described. Only one acts at a time, the rest make a great Ring of 2 or 300 Yards round about him. He that is to exercise comes into the Ring with a great shriek or two, and a horrid look; then he fetches two or three large stately strides, and falls to work. He holds his broad Sword in one Hand, and his Lance in the other, and traverses his Ground, leaping from one side of the Ring to the other; and in a menacing posture and look, bids defiance to the Enemy, whom his Fancy frames to him; for there is nothing but Air to oppose him. Then he stamps and shakes his Head, and grinning with his Teeth, makes many ruful Faces. Then he throws his Lance, and nimbly snatches out his Cresset, with which he hacks and hews the Air

like a Mad-man, often shrieking. At last, being almost tired with motion, he flies to the middle of the Ring, where he seems to have his Enemy at his Mercy, and with two or three blows cuts on the Ground as if he was cutting off his Enemy's Head. By this time he is all of a Sweat, and withdraws triumphantly out of the Ring, and presently another enters with the like shrieks and gesture. Thus they continue combating their imaginary Enemy all the rest of the Day: towards the conclusion of which the richest Men act, and at last the General, and then the Sultan concludes this Ceremony: He and the General with some other great Men, are in Armor, but the rest have none. After this the Sultan returns home, accompanied with abundance of People who wait on him there till they are dismist. But at the time when we were there, there was an after-game to be played; for the General's Son being then Circumcised, the Sultan intended to give him a second visit in the Night, so they all waited to attend him thither. The General also provided to meet him in the best manner, and therefore desired Captain *Swan* with his Men to attend him. Accordingly Captain *Swan* ordered us to get our Guns, and wait at the General's House till further Orders. So about 40 of us waited till Eight a Clock in the Evening. When the General with Captain *Swan*, and about 1000 Men, went to meet the Sultan, with abundance of Torches that made it as light as Day. The manner of the march was thus: First of all there was a Pageant, and upon it two dancing Women gorgeously apparelled, with Coronets on their Heads, full of glittering Spangles, and Pendants of the same, hanging down over their Breast and Shoulders. These are Women bred up

purposely for dancing: Their Feet and Legs are but little imployed, except sometimes to turn round very gently; but their Hands, Arms, Head and Body are in continual motion, especially their Arms, which they turn and twist so strangely, that you would think them to be made without Bones. Besides the two dancing Women, there were two old Women in the Pageant, holding each a lighted Torch in their Hands, close by the two dancing Women, by which light the glittering Spangles appeared very gloriously. This Pageant was carried by six lusty Men: Then came six or seven Torches, lighting the General and Captain *Swan*, who marched side by side next, and we that attended Captain *Swan* followed close after, marching in order six and six abrest, with each Man his Gun on his Shoulder, and Torches on each side. After us came twelve of the General's Men with old *Spanish* Match-locks, marching four in a row. After them about forty Lances, and behind them as many with great Swords, marching all in order. After them came abundance only with Cressets by their sides, who marched up close without any order. When we came near the Sultan's House, the Sultan and his Men met us, and we wheel'd off to let them pass. The Sultan had three Pageants [that] went before him: In the first Pageant were four of his Sons, who were about 10 or 11 Years old. They had gotten abundance of small Stones, which they roguishly threw about on the People's Heads. In the next were four young Maidens, nieces to the Sultan, being his Sisters Daughters; and in the 3d, there were three of the Sultan's Children, not above six Years old. The Sultan himself followed next, being carried in his

Couch, which was not like your *Indian Palankins*, but open, and very little and ordinary. A multitude of People came after, without any order: but as soon as he was past by, the General, and Captain *Swan*, and all our Men, closed in just behind the Sultan, and so all marched together to the General's House. We came thither between 10 and 11 a Clock, where the biggest part of the Company were immediately dismist; but the Sultan and his Children, and his Nieces, and some other Persons of Quality, entred the General's House. They were met at the Head of the Stairs by the General's Women, who with a great deal of Respect conducted them into the House. Captain *Swan*, and we that were with him followed after. It was not long before the General caused his dancing Women to enter the Room, and divert the Company with that pastime. I had forgot to tell you that they have none but vocal Musick here, by what I could learn, except only a row of a kind of Bells without Clappers, 16 in number, and their weight increasing gradually from about three to ten pound weight. These were set in a row on a Table in the General's House, where for seven or eight Days together before the Circumcision day, they were struck each with a little Stick, for the biggest part of the Day making a great noise, and they ceased that Morning. So these dancing Women sung themselves, and danced to their own Musick. After this the General's Women, and the Sultan's Sons, and his Nieces danced. Two of the Sultan's Nieces were about 18 or 19 Years Old, the other two were three or four Years Younger. These Young Ladies were very richly drest, with loose garments of Silk, and small Coronets on their Heads. They were much fairer

than any Women that I did ever see there, and very well featured; and their Noses, tho' but small, yet higher than the other Womens, and very well proportioned. When the Ladies had very well diverted themselves and the Company with dancing, the General caused us to fire some Sky-rockets, that were made by his and Captain *Swan*'s Order, purposely for this Nights Solemnity; and after that the Sultan and his retinue went away with a few Attendants, and we all broke up, and thus ended this Days Solemnity: but the Boys being sore with their Amputation, went straddling for a fortnight after.

They are not, as I said before, very curious or strict in observing any Days, or Times of particular Devotions, except it be *Ramdam* [*i.e.*, Ramadan] time, as we call it. The *Ramdam* time was then in *August*, as I take it, for it was shortly after our arrival here. In this time they Fast all Day and about seven a Clock in the Evening, they spend near an Hour in Prayer. Towards the latter end of their Prayer, they loudly invoke their Prophet, for about a quarter of an Hour, both old and young bawling out very strangely, as if they intended to fright him out of his sleepiness or neglect of them. After their Prayer is ended, they spend some time in Feasting before they take their repose. Thus they do every Day for a whole Month at least; for sometimes 'tis two or three Days longer before the *Ramdam* ends: For it begins at the New Moon, and lasts till they see the next New Moon, which sometimes in thick hazy Weather is not till three or four Days after the Change, as it happen'd while I was at *Achin*, where they continued the *Ramdam* till the New Moon's appearance. The next Day after they have seen the New Moon, the Guns

are all discharged about Noon, and then the time ends.

A main part of their Religion consists in washing often, to keep themselves from being defiled; or after they are defiled to cleanse themselves again. They also take great care to keep themselves from being polluted, by tasting or touching any thing that is accounted Unclean; therefore Swines Flesh is very abominable to them; nay, any one that hath either tasted of Swines flesh, or touched those Creatures, is not permitted to come into their Houses in many Days after, and there is nothing will scare them more than a Swine. Yet there are wild Hogs in the Islands, and those so plentiful, that they will come in troops out of the Woods in the Night into the very City, and come under their Houses, to romage up and down the Filth that they find there. The Natives therefore would even desire to lie in wait for the Hogs, to destroy them, which we did frequently, by shooting them and carrying them presently on board, but were prohibited their Houses afterwards.

And now I am on this Subject, I cannot omit a Story concerning the General. He once desired to have a pair of Shoes made after the *English* Fashion, tho' he did very seldom wear any: So one [of] our Men made him a Pair, which the General liked very well. Afterwards some Body told him, That the Thread wherewith the Shoes were sowed, were pointed with Hogs-bristles. This put him into a great Passion; so he sent the Shoes to the Man that made them, and sent him withal more Leather to make another Pair, with Threads pointed with some other Hair, which was immediately done, and then he was well pleased.

CHAP. XIII

Their coasting along the Isle of Mindanao, *from a Bay on the East-side to another, at the S.E. end. Tornadoes and boisterous Weather. The S.E. Coast, and its Savannah and plenty of Deer. They coast along the South-side to the River of* Mindanao *City, and anchor there. The Sultan's Brother and Son come aboard them, and invite them to settle there. Of the Feasibleness and probable Advantage of such a Settlement, from the neighboring Gold and Spice Islands. Of the best way to* Mindanao *by the* South Sea *and* Terra Australis; *and of an accidental Discovery there by Captain* Davis, *and a probability of a greater. The Capacity they were in to settle here. The* Mindanayans *measure their Ship. Captain* Swan's *Present to the Sultan: his Reception of it, and Audience given to Captain* Swan, *with* Raja Laut, *the Sultans Brother's Entertainment of him. The Contents of two* English *Letters shewn them by the Sultan of* Mindanao. *Of the Commodities, and the Punishments there. The General's Caution how to demean themselves: at his Persuasion they lay up their Ships in the River. The* Mindanaians *Caresses. The great Rains and Floods at the City. The* Mindanaians *have* Chinese *Accomptants. How their Women dance. A Story of one* John Thacker. *Their Bark eaten up, and their Ship endangered by the Worm. Of the Worms here and elsewhere. Of Captain* Swan. Raja Laut, *the General's Deceitfulness. Hunting wild Kine. The Prodigality of some of the* English. *Captain* Swan *treats with a Young*

Indian *of a Spice-Island. A Hunting Voyage with the General. His punishing a Servant of his. Of his Wives and Women. A sort of strong Rice-drink. The General's foul Dealing and Exactions. Captain* Swan's *Uneasiness and indiscreet Management. His Men Mutiny. Of a Snake twisting about on their Necks. The main part of the Crew go away with the Ship, leaving Captain* Swan *and some of his Men: Several others poisoned there.*

Having in the two last Chapters given some Account of the Natural, Civil, and Religious State of *Mindanao*, I shall now go on with the prosecution of our Affairs during our stay there.

'Twas in a Bay on the N. East-side of the Island that we came to an Anchor, as hath been said. We lay in this Bay but one Night, and part of the next Day. Yet there we got Speech with some of the Natives, who by signs made us to understand, that the City *Mindanao* was on the West-side of the Island. We endeavored to persuade one of them, to go with us to be our Pilot, but he would not: Therefore in the Afternoon we loosed from hence, steering again to the South East, having the Wind at S.W. When we came to the S.E. end of the Island *Mindanao*, we saw two small Islands[7] about three Leagues distant from it. We might have passed between them and the main Island, as we learnt since, but not knowing them, nor what dangers we might encounter there, we chose rather to Sail to the Eastward of them. But meeting very strong Westerly Winds, we got nothing forward in many Days. In this time we first saw the

[7] Sarangani and Balut Islands; the large bay beyond is Sarangani.

Islands *Meangis*,[8] which are about 16 Leagues distant from the *Mindanao*, bearing S.E. I shall have occasion to speak more of them hereafter.

The 4th Day of *July* we got into a deep Bay, four Leagues N.W. from the two small Islands before mentioned. But the Night before, in a violent Tornado, our Bark being unable to beat any longer, bore away, which put us in some pain for fear she was overset, as we had like to have been our selves. We anchored on the South West side of the Bay, in fifteen fathom Water, about a Cables length from the shore. Here we were forced to shelter our selves from the violence of the Weather, which was so boisterous with Rains, and Tornadoes, and a strong Westerly Wind, that we were very glad to find this place to Anchor in, being the only shelter on this side from the West Winds.

This Bay is not above two Mile wide at the Mouth, but farther in it is three Leagues wide, and seven fathom deep, running in N.N.W. There is a good depth of Water about four or five Leagues in, but Rocky foul Ground for about two Leagues in, from the Mouth on both sides of the Bay, except only in that place where we lay. About three Leagues in from the mouth, on the Eastern side, there are fair sandy Bays, and very good anchoring in four, five, and six fathom. The Land on the East side is high, Mountainous, and Woody, yet very well watered with small Brooks, and there is one River large enough for Canoes to enter. On the West side of the Bay, the Land is of a mean height with a large Sa-

[8] The Meangis Islands are a group in the Malaysian Archipelago, in about latitude 5° North, ninety miles southeast of Mindanao. The chief island is Nanusa.

vannah, bordering on the Sea, and stretching from the mouth of the Bay, a great way to the Westward.

This Savannah abounds with long Grass, and it is plentifully stock'd with Deer. The adjacent Woods are a covert for them in the heat of the Day: but Mornings and Evenings they feed in the open Plains, as thick as in our Parks in *England*. I never saw any where such plenty of wild Deer, tho' I have met with them in several parts of *America*, both in the North and South Seas.

The Deer live here pretty peaceably and unmolested, for there are no Inhabitants on that side of the Bay. We visited this Savannah every Morning, and killed as many Deer as we pleased, sometimes 16 or 18 in a Day; and we did eat nothing but Venison all the time we staid here.

We saw a great many Plantations by the sides of the Mountains, on the East side of the Bay, and we went to one of them, in hopes to learn of the Inhabitants whereabouts the City was, that we might not over-sail it in the Night; but they fled from us.

We lay here till the 12th Day before the Winds abated of their fury, and then we sailed from hence, directing our course to the Westward. In the Morning we had a Land Wind at North. At 11 a Clock the Sea breeze came at West, just in our Teeth, but it being fair Weather, we kept on our way, turning and taking the advantage of the Land breezes by Night, and the Sea breezes by Day.

Being now past the S.E. part of the Island, we coasted down on the South side, and we saw abundance of Canoas a fishing, and now and then a small Village. Neither were these Inhabitants afraid of us (as the former) but came aboard; yet we could

not understand them, nor they us, but by signs: and when we mentioned the word *Mindanao*, they would point towards it.

The 18th Day of *July* we arrived before the River of *Mindanao*; the mouth of which lies in lat. 6 d. 22 m. N. and is laid in 231 d. 12 m. Longitude West, from the *Lizard* in *England*.[9] We anchored right against the River in 15 fathom Water, clear hard Sand; about 2 Miles from the shore, and 3 or 4 Miles from a small Island, that lay without us to the Southward. We fired 7 or 9 Guns, I remember not well which, and were answered again with 3 from the shore; for which we gave one again. Immediately after our coming to an Anchor *Raja Laut*, and one of the Sultan's Sons came off in a Canoa, being rowed with 10 Oars, and demanded in *Spanish* what we were? and from whence we came? Mr. *Smith* (he who was taken Prisoner at *Leon* in *Mexico*) answered in the same Language, that we were *English*, and that we had been a great while out of *England*. They told us that we were welcome, and asked us a great many questions about *England*; especially concerning our *East India* Merchants; and whether we were sent by them to settle a Factory here? Mr. *Smith* told them that we came hither only to buy Provision. They seemed a little discontented when they understood that we were not come to settle among them: for they had heard of our arrival on the East-side of the Island a great while before, and entertained hopes that we were sent purposely out of *England* hither to settle a Trade with them; which it would seem they are very desirous of. For Capt.

[9] The Lizard Point, the southernmost point of England, located in Cornwall.

Goodlud had been here not long before to treat with them about it; and when he went away told them (as they said) that in a short time they might expect an Ambassador from *England*, to make a full bargain with them.

Indeed upon mature thoughts, I should think we could not have done better, than to have complied with the desire they seemed to have of our settling here; and to have taken up our quarters among them. For as thereby we might better have consulted our own profit and satisfaction, than by the other loose roving way of life; so it might probably have proved of publick benefit to our Nation, and been a means of introducing an *English* Settlement and Trade, not only here, but through several of the Spice-Islands, which lie in its neighborhood.

For the Islands *Meangis*, which I mentioned in the beginning of this Chapter, lye within twenty Leagues of *Mindanao*. These are three small Islands that abound with Gold and Cloves, if I may credit my Author Prince *Jeoly*,[10] who was born on one of them, and was at that time a Slave in the City of *Mindanao*. He might have been purchased by us of his Master for a small matter, as he was afte[r]-wards by Mr. *Moody*, (who came hither to trade, and laded a Ship with Clove-Bark) and by transporting him home to his own Country, we might have gotten a Trade there. But of Prince *Jeoly* I shall speak more hereafter. These Islands are as yet probably unknown to the *Dutch*, who as I said before, indeavor to ingross all the Spice into their own Hands.

There was another opportunity offered us here of

[10] This native was taken to England finally by Dampier, he

settling on another Spice-Island that was very well inhabited: for the Inhabitants fearing the *Dutch*, and understanding that the English were settling at *Mindanao*, their Sultan sent his Nephew to *Mindanao* while we were there to invite us thither: Captain *Swan* conferr'd with him about it divers times, and I do believe he had some Inclination to accept the offer; and I am sure most of the Men were for it: but this never came to a head, for want of a true understanding between Captain *Swan* and his Men, as may be declared hereafter.

Beside the benefit that might accrue from this Trade with *Meangis*, and other the Spice Islands, the *Philippine* Islands themselves, by a little care and industry, might have afforded us a very beneficial Trade, and all these Trades might have been managed from *Mindanao*, by settling there first. For that Island lyeth very convenient for Trading either to the Spice-Islands, or to the rest of the *Philippine* Islands: since as its Soil is much of the same nature with either of them, so it lies as it were in the Center of the Gold and Spice Trade in these parts; the Islands North of *Mindanao* abounding most in Gold, and those South of *Meangis* in Spice.

As the Island *Mindanao* lies very convenient for Trade, so considering its distance, the way thither may not be over-long and tiresome. The Course that I would choose should be to set out of *England* about the latter end of *August*, and to pass round *Terra del Fuego*, and so stretching over towards *New Holland*, coast it along that Shore till I came near to *Mindanao*; or first I would coast down near the *Ameri-*

having obtained a half-interest in him, and was there exhibited. He died at Oxford. See Dampier's *Voyage*, pp. 511, 513-517.

can Shore, as far as I found convenient, and then direct my Course accordingly for the Island. By this I should avoid coming near any of the *Dutch* Settlements, and be sure to meet always with a constant brisk Easterly Trade Wind, after I was once past *Terra del Fuego*. Whereas in passing about the Cape of *Good Hope*, after you are shot over the *East-Indian* Ocean, and are come to the Islands, you must pass through the Streights of *Malacca* or *Sundy*, or else some other Streights East from Java, where you will be sure to meet with Country [*i.e.*, contrary] -winds, go on which side of the Equator you please; and this would require ordinarily 7 or 8 Months for the Voyage, but the other I should hope to perform in 6 or 7 at most. In your return from thence also you must observe the same Rule as the *Spaniards* do in going from *Manila to Acapulco*;[11]

[11] Dampier describes the Acapulco ships and their route as follows (chapter ix): "The Ships that Trade hither are only three, two that constantly go once a Year between this [*i.e.*, Acapulco] and *Manila* and *Luconia*, one of the *Philippine* Islands, and one Ship more every Year to and from *Lima*. This from *Lima* commonly arrives a little before Christmas; she brings them Quick-silver, Cacao, and Pieces of Eight. Here she stays till the *Manila* Ships arrive, and then takes in a Cargo of Spices, Silks, Callicoes, and Muslins, and other East-India Commodities, for the use of *Peru*, and then returns to *Lima*. This is but a small Vessel of 20 Guns, but the two *Manila* Ships are each said to be above 1000 Tun. These make their Voyages alternately, so that one or other of them is always at the *Manila*'s. When either of them sets out from *Acapulco*, it is at the latter end of *March*, or the beginning of *April*; she always touches to refresh at *Guam*, one of the *Ladrone* Islands, in about 60 Days space after she sets out. There she stays but two or three Days, and then prosecutes her Voyage to *Manila*, where she commonly arrives some time in *June*. By that time the other is ready to sail from thence, laden with *East-India* Commodities. She stretcheth away to the North as far as 36, or sometimes into 40 degrees of North lat. before she gets a Wind to stand over to the *American* shoar. She falls in first with the Coast of *California*, and then Coasts along the shoar to

only as they run towards the North-Pole for variable Winds, so you must run to the Southward, till you meet with a Wind that will carry you over to *Terra del Fuego*. There are places enough to touch at for Refreshment, either going or coming. You may touch going thither on either side of *Terra Patagonica*, or, if you please, at the *Gallapagoes Islands*,[12] where there is Refreshment enough; and returning you may probably touch somewhere on *New Hol-*

the South again, and never misses a Wind to bring her away from thence quite to *Acapulco*. When she gets the length of Cape *St. Lucas*, which is the Southermost point of *California*, she stretcheth over to Cape *Corientes*, which is in about the 20th degree of North lat. from thence she Coasts along till she comes to *Sallagua*, and there she sets ashoar Passengers that are bound to the City of *Mexico*. From thence she makes her best way, Coasting still along shoar, till she arrives at *Acapulco*, which is commonly about Christmas, never more than 8 or 10 days before or after. Upon the return of this Ship to *Manila*, the other which stayeth there till her arrival, takes her turn back to *Acapulco*. Sir *John Narborough* therefore was imposed on by the *Spaniards*, who told him that there were 8 Sail, or more, that used this Trade."

[12] The Galapagos (or "Islands of the Tortoise") belong to the government of Ecuador, and are located seven hundred and thirty miles west of that country in the Pacific. They consist of six principal and seven smaller islands. The largest is Albemarle. They are all volcanic. Of them Dampier says (chapter v): "The *Gallapagos* Islands are a great Number of uninhabited Islands, lying under, and on both sides of the Equator. The Eastermost of them are about 110 Leagues from the Main. They are laid down in the Longitude of 181, reaching to the Westward as far as 176, therefore their Longitude from *England* Westward is about 68 degrees. But I believe our Hydrographers do not place them far enough to the Westward. The *Spaniards* who first discovered them, and in whose draught alone they are laid down, report them to be a great number, stretching North-West from the Line, as far as 5 degrees N. but we saw not above 14 or 15. They are some of them 7 or 8 leagues long and 3 or 4 broad. They are of a good heighth, most of them flat or even on the top; 4 or 5 of the Eastermost are rocky, barren and hilly, producing neither Tree, Herb, nor Grass, but a few Dildo-trees, except by the Sea side."

land, and so make some profitable discovery in these Places without going out of your way. And to speak my Thoughts freely, I believe 'tis owing to the neglect of this easie way that all that vast Tract of *Terra Australis* which bounds the *South Sea* is yet undiscovered: those that cross that Sea seeming to design some Business on the *Peruvian* or *Mexican* Coast, and so leaving that at a distance. To confirm which, I shall add what Captain *Davis*[13] told me lately, That after his departure from us at the Haven of *Ria Lexa*[14] (as is mentioned in the 8th Chap.) he went after several Traverses, to the *Gallapagoes* and that standing thus Southward for Wind, to bring him about *Terra del Fuego*, in the Lat. of 27 South, about 500 Leagues from *Copayapo*,[15] on the Coast of *Chili*, he saw a small sandy Island just by him; and that they saw to the Westward of it a long Tract of pretty high Land, tending away toward the North West out of sight. This might probably be the Coast of *Terra Australis Incognita.*

But to return to *Mindanao*; as to the capacity we were then in, of settling our selves at *Mindanao*, although we were not sent out of any such design of settling, yet we were as well provided, or better, considering all Circumstances, than if we had. For there was scarce any useful Trade, but some or other

[13] Captain Davis was one of the Privateers with whom Dampier had sailed the Spanish Main. When Captains Davis and Swan parted company at Realejo, Dampier went with the latter in order to become acquainted with the northern part of Mexico, in whose waters Captain Swan designed to sail.

[14] The town of Realejo or Realexo, a seaport town of Nicaragua situated on Realejo Bay of the Pacific Ocean, and twenty miles from the city of León, whose seaport it is.

[15] The town of Copiapó or Porto Copiapó, a small seaport of Chili, in the province of Atacama, on Copiapó Bay.

of us understood it. We had Sawyers, Carpenters, Joyners, Brickmakers, Bricklayers, Shoemakers, Taylors, *&c.* we only wanted a good Smith for great Work; which we might have had at *Mindanao*. We were very well provided with Iron, Lead, and all sorts of Tools, as Saws, Axes, Hammers, *&c.* We had powder and Shot enough, and very good small Arms. If we had designed to build a Fort, we could have spared 8 or 10 Guns out of our Ship, and Men enough to have managed it, and any Affair of Trade beside. We had also a great Advantage above raw Men that are sent out of *England* into these places, who proceed usually too cautiously, coldly and formally, to compass any considerable design, which Experience better teaches than any Rules whatsoever; besides the danger of their Lives in so great and sudden a change of Air: whereas we were all inured to hot Climates, hardened by many Fatigues, and, in general, daring Men, and such as would not be easily baffled. To add one thing more, our Men were almost tired, and began to desire a *quietus est*; and therefore they would gladly have seated themselves any where. We had a good Ship too, and enough of us (beside what might have been spared to manage our new Settlement) to bring the News with the Effects to the Owners in *England*: for Captain *Swan* had already 5000 *l.* in Gold, which he and his Merchants received for Goods sold mostly to Captain *Harris* [16] and his Men: which if he had laid but part of it out in Spice, as probably he might have

[16] Captain Harris was commander of one of the privateer ships sailing in Spanish-American waters. When Captains Swan and Davis parted company he accompanied the latter. See Dampier's *Voyage*, p. 224.

done, would have satisfy'd the Merchants to their Hearts content. So much by way of digression.

To proceed therefore with our first Reception at *Mindanao, Raja Laut* and his Nephew sat still in their Canoa, and would not come aboard us; because, as they said, they had no Orders for it from the Sultan. After about half an Hour's Discourse, they took their leaves, first inviting Captain *Swan* ashore, and promising him to assist him in getting Provision; which they said at present was scarce, but in three or four Month's time the Rice would be gathered in, and then he might have as much as he pleased: and that in the mean time he might secure his Ship in some convenient place, for fear of the Westerly winds, which they said would be very violent at the latter end of this Month, and all the next, as we found them.

We did not know the quality of these two Persons till after they were gone; else we should have fir'd some Guns at their Departure: When they were gone, a certain Officer under the Sultan came aboard and measured our Ship. A custom derived from the *Chinese*, who always measure the length and breadth, and the depth of the Hold of all Ships that come to load there; by which means they know how much each Ship will carry. But for what reason this Custom is used either by the *Chinese*, or *Mindanao* Men, I could never learn; unless the *Mindanaians* design by this means to improve their skill in Shipping, against they have a Trade.

Captain *Swan*, considering that the Season of the Year would oblige us to spend some time at this Island, thought it convenient to make what interest he could with the Sultan; who might afterwards

either obstruct, or advance his designs. He therefore immediately provided a Present to send ashore to the Sultan, *viz.* 3 Yards of Scarlet Cloth, 3 Yards of broad Gold Lace, a Turkish Scimiter and a Pair of Pistols: and to *Raja Laut* he sent 3 Yards of Scarlet Cloth, and 3 Yards of Silver Lace. This Present was carried by Mr. *Henry More* in the Evening. He was first conducted to *Raja Laut*'s House; where he remained till report thereof was made to the Sultan, who immediately gave order for all things to be made ready to receive him.

About Nine a Clock at Night, a Messenger came from the Sultan to bring the Present away. Then Mr. *More* was conducted all the way with Torches and armed Men, till he came to the House where the Sultan was. The Sultan with eight or ten Men of his Council were seated on Carpets, waiting his coming. The Present that Mr. *More* brought was laid down before them, and was very kindly accepted by the Sultan, who caused Mr. *More* to sit down by them, and asked a great many questions of him. The discourse was in *Spanish* by an Interpreter. This Conference lasted about an Hour, and then he was dismist, and returned again to *Raja Laut*'s House. There was a Supper provided for him, and the Boats Crew; after which he returned aboard.

The next Day the Sultan sent for Capt. *Swan*: He immediately went ashore with a Flag flying in the Boats Head, and two Trumpets sounding all the way. When he came ashore, he was met at his Landing by two principal Officers, guarded along with Soldiers, and abundance of People gazing to see him. The Sultan waited for him in his Chamber of Audience, where Captain *Swan* was treated with

Tobacco and Betel, which was all his Entertainment.

The Sultan sent for two *English* Letters for Captain *Swan* to read, purposely to let him know, that our *East-India* Merchants did design to settle here, and that they had already sent a Ship hither. One of these Letters was sent to the Sultan from *England*, by the *East-India* Merchants. The chiefest things contained in it, as I remember, for I saw it afterwards in the Secretaries Hand, who was very proud to shew it to us, was to desire some privileges, in order to the building of a Fort there. This Letter was written in a very fair Hand; and between each Line, there was a Gold Line drawn. The other Letter was left by Captain *Goodlud*, directed to any *English* Men who should happen to come thither. This related wholly to Trade, giving an account, at what rate he had agreed with them for Goods of the Island, and how European Goods should be sold to them; with an account of their Weight and Measures, and their difference from ours.

The rate agreed on for *Mindanao* Gold, was 14 *Spanish* Dollars, (which is a current Coin all over *India*) the *English* Ounce, and 18 Dollars the *Mindanao* Ounce. But for Bees-wax and Clove-bark, I do not remember the rate; neither do I well remember the rates of *Europe* Commodities; but I think the rate of Iron was not above four Dollars a Hundred. Captain *Goodlud*'s Letter concluded thus, *Trust none of them, for they are all Thieves, but Tace is Latin for a Candle.* We understood afterwards that Captain *Goodlud* was robb'd of some Goods by one of the General's Men, and that he that robb'd him was fled into the Mountains, and could not be found while Captain *Goodlud* was here.

But the Fellow returning back to the City some time after our arrival here, *Raja Laut* brought him bound to Captain *Swan*, and told him what he had done, desiring him to punish him for it as he pleased; but Captain *Swan* excused himself; and said it did not belong to him, therefore he would have nothing to do with it. However, the General *Raja Laut*, would not pardon him, but punished him according to their own Custom, which I did never see but at this time.

He was stript stark naked in the Morning at Sunrising, and bound to a Post, so that he could not stir Hand nor Foot, but as he was mov'd; and was placed with his Face Eastward against the Sun. In the Afternoon they turned his Face toward the West, that the Sun might still be in his Face; and thus he stood all Day, parcht in the Sun (which shines here excessively hot) and tormented with the Moskitos or Gnats: After this the General would have kill'd him, if Captain *Swan* had consented to it. I did never see any put to Death; but I believe they are barbarous enough in it: The General told us himself that he put two Men to Death in a Town where some of us were with him; but I heard not the manner of it. Their common way of punishing is to strip them in this manner, and place them in the Sun; but sometimes they lay them flat on their Backs on the Sand, which is very hot; where they remain a whole Day in the scorching Sun, with the Moskito's biting them all the time.

This action of the General in offering Captain *Swan* the punishment of the Thief, caus'd Captain *Swan* afterwards to make him the same offer of his Men, when any had offended the *Mindanao* Men: but the General left such Offenders to be punished

by Captain *Swan*, as he thought convenient. So that for the least Offence Captain *Swan* punished his Men, and that in the sight of the *Mindanaians*; and I think sometimes only for revenge; as he did once punish his Chief Mate Mr. *Teat*, he that came Captain of the Bark to *Mindanao*. Indeed at that time Captain *Swan* had his Men as much under command as if he had been in a King's Ship; and had he known how to use his Authority, he might have led them to any Settlement, and have brought them to assist him in any design he had pleased.

Captain *Swan* being dismist from the Sultan, with abundance of civility, after about two Hours Discourse with him, went thence to *Raja Laut*'s House. *Raja Laut* had then some difference with the Sultan, and therefore he was not present at the Sultan's reception of our Captain, but waited his return, and treated him and all his Men with boiled Rice and Fowls. He then told Captain *Swan* again, and urged it to him, that it would be best to get his Ship into the River as soon as he could, because of the usual tempestuous Weather at this time of the Year; and that he should want no assistance to further him in any thing. He told him also, that as we must of necessity stay here some time, so our Men would often come ashore; and he therefore desired him to warn his Men to be careful to give no afront to the Natives; who, he said, were very revengeful. That their Customs being different from ours, he feared that Captain *Swan*'s Men might some time or other offend them, though ignorantly; that therefore he gave him this friendly warning, to prevent it: that his House should always be open to receive him or any of his Men, and that he knowing our Customs, would never

be offended at any thing. After a great deal of such Discourse he dismist the Captain and his Company, who took their leave and came aboard.

Captain *Swan* having seen the two Letters, did not doubt but that the *English* did design to settle a Factory here: therefore he did not much scruple the honesty of these People, but immediately ordered us to get the Ship into the River. The River upon which the City of *Mindanao* stands is but small, and hath not above 10 or 11 Foot Water on the Bar at a Spring-tide: therefore we lightened our Ship, and the Spring coming on, we with much ado got her into the River, being assisted by 50 or 60 *Mindanaian* Fishermen, who liv'd at the Mouth of the River; *Raja Laut* himself being aboard our Ship to direct them. We carried her about a quarter of a Mile up, within the Mouth of the River, and there moored her, Head and Stern in a hole, where we always rode afloat. After this the Citizens of *Mindanao* came frequently aboard, to invite our Men to their Houses, and to offer us Pagallies. 'Twas a long time since any of us had received such Friendship, and therefore we were the more easily drawn to accept of their kindnesses; and in a very short time most of our Men got a Comrade or two, and as many Pagallies; especially such of us as had good Cloths, and store of Gold, as many had, who were of the number of those, that accompanied Captain *Harris* over the Isthmus of *Darien*, the rest of us being Poor enough. Nay, the very Poorest and Meanest of us could hardly pass the Streets, but we were even hal'd by Force into their Houses, to be treated by them; altho' their Treats were but mean, *viz.* Tobacco, or Betel-Nut, or a little sweet spiced Water. Yet their seeming Sincerity, Simplicity, and the manner of bestowing these Gifts,

made them very acceptable. When we came to their Houses, they would always be praising the *English*, as declaring that the *English* and *Mindanaians* were all one. This they exprest by putting their two Fore-fingers close together, and saying, that the *English* and *Mindanaians* were *samo, samo*,[17] that is, *all one*. Then they would draw their Fore-fingers half a Foot asunder, and say the *Dutch* and they were *Bugeto*, which signifies so, that they were at such distance in point of Friendship: And for the *Spaniards*, they would make a greater Representation of distance than for the *Dutch*: Fearing these, but having felt, and smarted from the *Spaniards*, who had once almost brought them under.

Captain *Swan* did seldom go into any House at first, but into *Raja Laut*'s. There he dined commonly every day; and as many of his Men as were ashore, and had no Money to Entertain themselves, resorted thither about 12 a Clock, where they had Rice enough boiled and well drest, and some scraps of Fowls, or bits of Buffaloe, drest very nastily. Captain *Swan* was served a little better, and his two trumpeters sounded all the time that he was at Dinner. After Dinner *Raja Laut* would sit and Discourse with him most part of the Afternoon. It was now that *Ramdam* time, therefore the General excused himself, that he could not Entertain our Captain with Dances, and other Pastimes, as he intended to do when this solemn Time was past; besides, it was the very height of the wet Season, and therefore not so proper for Pastimes.

We had now very tempestuous Weather, and

[17] Pigafetta in his relation of the first circumnavigation (VOL. XXXIV, p. 86) notes the word used by the inhabitants of the Moluccas for "one and the same thing" as "siama siama."

excessive Rains, which so swell'd the River, that it overflowed its Banks; so that we had much ado to keep our Ship safe: For every now and then we should have a great Tree come floating down the River, and sometimes lodge against our Bows, to the endangering the breaking our Cables, and either the driving us in, over the Banks, or carrying us out to Sea; both which would have been very dangerous to us, especially being without Ballast.

The City is about a Mile long (of no great breadth) winding with the Banks of the River on the Right Hand going up, tho' it hath many Houses on the other side too. But at this time it seemed to stand as in a Pond, and there was no passing from one House to another but in Canoas. This tempestuous Rainy Weather happened the latter end of *July*, and lasted most part of *August*.

When the bad Weather was a little asswaged, Captain *Swan* hired a House to put our Sails and Goods in, while we careen'd our Ship. We had a great deal of Iron and Lead, which was brought ashore into this House. Of these Commodities Captain *Swan* sold to the Sultan or General, Eight or Ten Tuns, at the Rates agreed on by Captain *Goodlud* to be paid in Rice. The *Mindanaians* are no good Accomptants; therefore the *Chinese* that live here, do cast up their Accompts for them. After this Captain *Swan* bought Timber-trees of the General, and set some of our Men to Saw them into Planks, to Sheath the Ship's bottom. He had two Whip-Saws on Board, which he brought out of *England*, and four or five Men that knew the use of them, for they had been Sawyers in *Jamaica*.

When the *Ramdam* time was over, and the dry time set in a little, the General, to oblige Captain *Swan*, entertained him every Night with Dances. The dancing Women that are purposely bred up to it, and make it their Trade, I have already described. But beside them, all the Women in general are much addicted to Dancing. They Dance 40 or 50 at once; and that standing all round in a Ring, joined Hand in Hand, and Singing and keeping time. But they never budge out of their places, nor make any motion till the Chorus is Sung; then all at once they throw out one Leg, and bawl out aloud; and sometimes they only Clap their Hands when the Chorus is Sung. Captain *Swan*, to retaliate the General's Favours, sent for his Violins, and some that could Dance *English* Dances; wherewith the General was very well pleased. They commonly spent the biggest part of the Night in these sort of Pastimes.

Among the rest of our Men that did use to Dance thus before the General, there was one *John Thacker*, who was a Seaman bred, and could neither Write nor Read; but had formerly learnt to Dance in the Musick-Houses about *Wapping*: This Man came into the *South Seas* with Captain *Harris*, and getting with him a good quantity of Gold, and being a pretty good Husband of his Share, had still had some left, besides what he laid out in a very good Suit of Cloaths. The General supposed by his Garb and his Dancing, that he had been of noble Extraction; and to be satisfy'd of his Quality, asked of our Men, if he did not guess aright of him? The Man of whom the General asked this Question told him, he was much in the right; and that most of our Ship's Com-

pany were of the like Extraction; especially all those that had fine Cloaths; and that they came aboard only to see the World, having Money enough to bear their expences where-ever they came; but that for the rest, those that had but mean Clothes, they were only common Seamen. After this, the General shew'd a great deal of Respect to all that had good Clothes, but especially to *John Thacker*, till Captain *Swan* came to know the Business, and marr'd all; undeceiving the General, and drubbing the Noble-Man: For he was so much incensed against *John Thacker*, that he could never indure him afterwards; tho' the poor Fellow knew nothing of the Matter.

About the middle of *November* we began to work on our Ship's bottom, which we found very much eaten with the Worm: For this is a horrid place for Worms. We did not know this till after we had been in the River a Month; and then we found our Canoas bottoms eaten like Honey-combs; our Bark, which was a single bottom, was eaten thro'; so that she could not swim. But our Ship was sheathed, and the Worm came no farther than the Hair between the sheathing Plank, and the main Plank. We did not mistrust the General's Knavery till now: for when he came down to our Ship, and found us ripping off the sheathing Plank, and saw the firm bottom underneath, he shook his Head, and seemed to be discontented; saying he did never see a Ship with two bottoms before. We were told that in this place, where we now lay, a *Dutch* Ship was eaten up in two months time, and the General had all her Guns; and it is probable he did expect to have had Ours: Which I do believe was the main Reason that made him so forward in assisting us to get our Ship into the River, for when we went out again we had no Assistance

from him. We had no Worms till we came to this place: For when we Careen'd at the *Marias*, the Worm had not touch'd us; nor at *Guam*, for there we scrubb'd; nor after we came to the Island *Mindanao*; for at the S.E. end of the Island we heel'd and scrubb'd also. The *Mindanaians* are so sensible of their destructive Insects, that whenever they come from Sea, they immediately hale their Ship into a dry Dock, and burn her bottom, and there let her lye dry till they are ready to get to Sea again. The Canoas or Proes they hale up dry, and never suffer them to be long in the Water. It is reported that those Worms which get into a Ships bottom in the salt Water, will die in the fresh Water; and that the fresh Water Worms will die in Salt Water: but in brackish Water both sorts will increase prodigiously. Now this place where we lay was sometimes brackish Water, yet commonly fresh; but what sort of Worm this was I know not. Some Men are of Opinion, that these Worms breed in the Plank; but I am perswaded they breed in the Sea: For I have seen Millions of them swimming in the Water, particularly in the Bay of *Panama*; for there Captain *Davis*, Captain *Swan* and my self, and most of our Men, did take notice of them divers times, which was the reason of our Cleaning so often while we were there: and these were the largest Worms that I did ever see. I have also seen them in *Virginia*, and in the Bay of *Campeachy*; in the latter of which places the Worms eat prodigiously. They are always in Bays, Creeks, Mouths of Rivers, and such places as are near the shore; being never found far out at Sea, that I could ever learn: yet a Ship will bring them lodg'd in its Plank for a great way.

Having thus ript off all our Worm-eaten Plank,

and clapt on new, by the beginning of *December* 1686, our Ships bottom was sheathed and tallowed, and the 10th Day went over the Bar, and took aboard the Iron and Lead that we could not sell, and began to fill our Water, and fetch aboard Rice for our Voyage: But C. *Swan* remain'd ashore still, and was not yet determin'd when to sail, or whither. But I am well assured that he did never intend to Cruise about *Manila*, as his Crew designed; for I did once ask him, and he told me, That what he had already done of that kind he was forc'd to; but now being at Liberty, he would never more Engage in any such Design: For, said he, there is no Prince on Earth is able to wipe off the Stain of such Actions. What other Designs he had I know not, for he was commonly very Cross; yet he did never propose doing any thing else, but only ordered the Provision to be got Aboard in order to Sail; and I am confident if he had made a motion to go to any *English* Factory, most of his Men would have consented to it, tho' probably some would have still opposed it. However, his Authority might soon have over-sway'd those that were Refractory; for it was very strange to see the Awe that these Men were in of him, for he punished the most stubborn and daring of his Men. Yet when we had brought the Ship out into the Road, they were not altogether so submissive, as while it lay in the River, tho' even then it was that he punished Captain *Teat*.

I was at that time a Hunting with the General for Beef, which he had a long time promised us. But now I saw that there was no Credit to be given to his Word; for I was a Week out with him and saw but four Cows, which were so wild, that we did not get

one. There were five or six more of our Company with me; these who were young Men, and had Dalilahs there, which made them fond of the Place, all agreed with the General to tell Captain *Swan*, that there were Beeves enough, only they were wild. But I told him the Truth, and advised him not to be too credulous of the General's Promises. He seemed to be very angry, and stormed behind the General's Back, but in his Presence was very mute, being a Man of small Courage.

It was about the 20th Day of *December* when we returned from Hunting, and the General designed to go again to another place to Hunt for Beef; but he stayed till after *Christmas-day*, because some of us designed to go with him; and Captain *Swan* had desired all his Men to be aboard that Day, that we might keep it solemnly together: And accordingly he sent aboard a Buffaloe the Day before, that we might have a good Dinner. So the 25th Day about 10 a Clock, Captain *Swan* came aboard, and all his Men who were ashore: For you must understand that near a third of our Men lived constantly ashore, with their Comrades and Pagallies, and some with Women servants, whom they hired of their Masters for Concubines. Some of our Men also had Houses, which they hired or bought, for Houses are very cheap, for five or six Dollars. For many of them having more Money than they knew what to do with, eased themselves here of the trouble of telling it, spending it very lavishly, their prodigality making the People impose upon them, to the making the rest of us pay the dearer for what we bought, and to the endangering the like impositions upon such *Englishmen* as may come here hereafter. For the *Minda-*

naians knew how to get our Squires Gold from them (for we had no Silver,) and when our Men wanted Silver, they would change now and then an Ounce of Gold, and could get for it no more than 10 or 11 Dollars for a *Mindanao* Ounce, which they would not part with again under 18 Dollars. Yet this, and the great prices the *Mindanaians* set on their Goods, were not the only way to lessen their stocks; for their Pagallies and Comrades would often be begging somewhat of them, and our Men were generous enough, and would bestow half an Ounce of Gold at a time, in a Ring for their Pagallies, or in a Silver Wrist-band, or Hoop to come about their Arms, in hopes to get a Nights Lodging with them.

When we were all aboard on *Christmas-day*, Captain *Swan* and his two Merchants; I did expect that Captain *Swan* would have made some proposals, or have told us his designs; but he only dined and went ashore again, without speaking any thing of his Mind. Yet even then I do think that he was driving on a design, of going to one of the Spice Islands, to load with Spice; for the Young Man before mentioned, who I said was sent by his Unkle, the Sultan of a Spice Island near *Ternate*, to invite the *English* to their Island, came aboard at this time, and after some private Discourse with Captain *Swan*, they both went ashore together. This Young Man did not care that the *Mindanaians* should be privy to what he said. I have heard Captain *Swan* say that he offered to load his Ship with Spice, provided he would build a small Fort, and leave some Men to secure the Island from the *Dutch*; but I am since informed, that the Dutch have now got possession of the Island.

The next Day after *Christmas* the General went away again, and five or six *Englishmen* with him, of whom I was one, under pretence of going a hunting; and we all went together by Water in his Proe, together with his Women and Servants, to the hunting place. The General always carried his Wives and Children, his Money and Goods with him: so we all imbarked in the Morning, and arrived there before Night. I have already described the fashion of their Proes, and the Rooms made in them. We were entertained in the General's Room or Cabbin. Our Voyage was not so far, but that we reached our Port before Night.

At this time one of the General's Servants had offended, and was punished in this manner: He was bound fast flat on his Belly, on a Bamboe belonging to the Proe, which was so near the Water, that by the Vessel's motion, it frequently delved under Water, and the Man along with it; and sometimes when hoisted up, he had scarce time to blow before he would be carried under Water again.

When we had rowed about two Leagues, we entered a pretty large deep River, and rowed up a League further, the Water salt all the way. There was a pretty large Village, the Houses built after the Country fashion. We landed at this place, where there was a House made ready immediately for us. The General and his Women lay at one end of the House, and we at the other end, and in the Evening all the Women in the Village danced before the General.

While he staid here, the General with his Men went out every Morning betimes, and did not return till four or five a Clock in the Afternoon, and he

would often complement us, by telling us what good Trust and Confidence he had in us, saying that he left his Women and Goods under our Protection, and that he thought them as secure with us six, (for we had all our Arms with us) as if he had left 100 of his own Men to guard them. Yet for all this great Confidence, he always left one of his principal Men, for fear some of us should be too familiar with his Women.

They did never stir out of their own Room when the General was at Home, but as soon as he was gone out, they would presently come into our Room, and sit with us all Day, and ask a Thousand Questions of us concerning our *English* Women, and our Customs. You may imagine that before this time, some of us had attained so much of their Language as to understand them, and give them Answers to their Demands. I remember that one Day they asked how many Wives the King of *England* had? We told them but one, and that our *English* Laws did not allow of any more. They said it was a strange Custom, that a Man should be confined to one Woman; some of them said it was a very bad Law, but others again said it was a good Law; so there was a great Dispute among them about it. But one of the General's Women said positively, That our Law was better than theirs, and made them all silent by the Reason which she gave for it. This was the *War Queen*, as we called her, for she did always Accompany the General whenever he was called out to Engage his Enemies, but the rest did not.

By this Familiarity among the Women, and by often discoursing [with] them, we came to be acquainted with their Customs and Priviledges. The

General lies with his Wives by turns; but she by whom he had the first Son, has a double Portion of his Company: For when it comes to her turn, she has him two Nights, whereas the rest have him but one. She with whom he is to lye at Night, seems to have a particular Respect shewn her by the rest all the precedent Day; and for a Mark of distinction, wears a striped silk Handkerchief about her Neck, by which we knew who was Queen that Day.

We lay here about five or six Days, but did never in all that time see the least sign of any Beef, which was the Business we came about; neither were we suffered to go out with the General to see the wild Kine, but we wanted for nothing else: However, this did not please us, and we often importuned him to let go out among the Cattle. At last he told us, That he had provided a Jar of Rice-drink to be merry with us, and after that we should go with him.

This Rice-drink is made of Rice boiled and put into a Jar, where it remains a long time steeping in Water. I know not the manner of making it, but it is very strong pleasant Drink. The Evening when the General designed to be merry, he caused a Jar of this Drink to be brought into our Room, and he began to drink first himself, then afterwards his Men; so they took turns till they were all as drunk as Swine, before they suffered us to drink. After they had enough, then we drank, and they drank no more, for they will not drink after us. The General leapt about our Room a little while; but having his Load soon went to sleep.

The next Day we went out with the General into the Savannah, where we had near 100 Men making of a large Pen to drive the Cattle into. For that is

the manner of their Hunting, having no Dogs. But I saw not above 8 or 10 Cows, and those as wild as Deer, so that we got none this Day: yet the next Day some of his Men brought in 3 Heifers, which they kill'd in the Savannah. With these we returned aboard, they being all that we got there.

Captain *Swan* was much vext at the Generals Actions; for he promised to supply us with as much Beef as we should want, but now either could not, or would not make good his promise. Besides, he failed to perform his Promise in a bargain of Rice, that we were to have for the Iron which he sold him, but he put us off still from time to time, and would not come to any Account. Neither were these all his Tricks; for a little before his Son was Circumcised, (of which I spake in the foregoing Chapter) he pretended a great streight for Money, to defray the Charges of that Day; and therefore desired Captain *Swan* to lend him about 20 Ounces of Gold; for he knew that Captain *Swan* had a considerable quantity of Gold in his possession, which the General thought was his own, but indeed [he] had none but what belonged to the Merchants. However he lent it the General, but when he came to an Account with Captain *Swan*, he told him, that it was usual at such solemn times to make Presents, and that he received it as a Gift. He also demanded Payment for the Victuals that our Captain and his Men did eat at his House. These things startled Captain *Swan*, yet how to help himself he knew not. But all this, with other inward troubles, lay hard on our Captain's Spirits, and put him very much out of Humour; for his own Company also were pressing him every Day to be gone, because, now was the heighth of the East-

erly Monsoon, the only Wind to carry us farther into the *Indies*.

About this time some of our Men, who were weary and tired with wandring, ran away into the Country and absconded, they being assisted, as was generally believed, by *Raja Laut*. There were others also, who fearing we should not go to an *English* Port, bought a Canoa, and designed to go in her to *Borneo*: For not long before a *Mindanao* Vessel came from thence, and brought a Letter directed to the chief of the *English* Factory at *Mindanao*. This Letter the General would have Captain *Swan* have opened, but he thought it might come from some of the *East-India* Merchants whose Affairs he would not intermeddle with, and therefore did not open it. I since met Captain *Bowry*[18] at *Achin*, and telling him this Story, he said that he sent that Letter, supposing that the *English* were settled there at *Mindanao*, and by this Letter we also thought that there was an *English* Factory at *Borneo*: so here was a mistake on both sides. But this Canoa, wherewith some of them thought to go to *Borneo*, Captain *Swan* took from them, and threatned the Undertakers very hardly. However, this did not so far discourage them, for they secretly bought another; but their Designs taking Air, they were again frustrated by Captain *Swan*.

The whole Crew were at this time under a general Disaffection, and full of very different Projects; and all for want of Action. The main Division was be-

[18] A ship captain whom Dampier (see chapter xviii) met at Achin on the island of Sumatra. Dampier and two of his companions started for Nicobar with him, but rough weather forced them to abandon the voyage. He importuned Dampier to make a voyage with him to Persia, but the latter declined, preferring to go to Tonquin with Captain Welden.

tween those that had Money and those that had none. There was a great Difference in the Humours of these; for they that had Money liv'd ashore, and did not care for leaving *Mindanao*; whilst those that were poor liv'd Aboard, and urg'd Capt. *Swan* to go to Sea. These began to be Unruly as well as Dissatisfy'd, and sent ashore the Merchants Iron to sell for Rack and Honey, to make Punch, wherewith they grew Drunk and Quarelsome: Which disorderly Actions deterr'd me from going Aboard; for I did ever abhor Drunkenness, which now our Men that were Aboard abandon'd themselves wholly to.

Yet these Disorders might have been crusht, if Capt. *Swan* had used his Authority to Suppress them: But he with his Merchants living always ashore, there was no Command; and therefore every Man did what he pleased and encouraged each other in his Villanies. Now Mr. *Harthop*, who was one of Captain *Swan*'s Merchants, did very much importune him to settle his Resolutions, and declare his Mind to his Men; which at last he consented to do. Therefore he gave warning to all his Men to come Aboard the 13th day of *January*, 1687.

We did all earnestly expect to hear what Captain *Swan* would propose, and therefore were very willing to go Aboard. But unluckily for him, two days before this Meeting was to be, Captain *Swan* sent Aboard his Gunner, to fetch something ashore out of his Cabbin. The Gunner rummaging to find what he was sent for, among other things took out the Captain's Journal from *America* to the Island *Guam*, and laid [it] down by him. This Journal was taken up by one *John Read*, a *Bristol* man, whom I have mentioned in my 4th Chapter. He was a

pretty Ingenious young Man, and of a very civil carriage and behaviour. He was also accounted a good Artist, and kept a Journal, and was now prompted by his curiosity, to peep into Captain *Swan*'s Journal, to see how it agreed with his own; a thing very usual among Seamen that keep Journals, when they have an opportunity, and especially young Men, who have no great experience. At the first opening of the Book, he lights on a place in which Captain *Swan* had inveighed bitterly against most of his Men, especially against another *John Reed* a *Jamaica* man. This was such stuff as he did not seek after: But hitting so pat on this subject, his curiosity led him to pry farther; and therefore while the Gunner was busie, he convey'd the Book away, to look over it at his leisure. The Gunner having dispatch'd his business, lock'd up the Cabbin-door, not missing the Book, and went ashore. Then *John Reed* shewed it to his Namesake, and to the rest that were aboard, who were by this time the biggest part of them ripe for mischief; only wanting some fair pretence to set themselves to work upon it. Therefore looking on what was written in this Journal to be matter sufficient for them to accomplish their Ends, Captain *Teat*, who as I said before, had been abused by Captain *Swan*, laid hold on this opportunity to be revenged for his Injuries, and aggravated the matter to the height; perswading the Men to turn out Captain *Swan* from being Commander, in hopes to have commanded the Ship himself. As for the Sea-men they were easily perswaded to anything; for they were quite tired with this long and tedious Voyage, and most of them despaired of ever getting home, and therefore did not care what

they did, or whither they went. It was only want of being busied in some Action that made them so uneasie; therefore they consented to what *Teat* proposed, and immediately all that were aboard bound themselves by Oath to turn Captain *Swan* out, and to conceal this design from those that were ashore, until the Ship was under Sail; which would have been presently, if the Surgeon or his Mate had been aboard; but they were both ashore, and they thought it no Prudence to go to Sea without a Surgeon: Therefore the next Morning they sent ashore one *John Cookworthy*, to hasten off either the Surgeon or his Mate, by pretending that one of the Men in the Night broke his Leg by falling into the Hold. The Surgeon told him that he intended to come aboard the next Day with the Captain, and would not come before: but sent his Mate, *Herman Coppinger*.

This Man sometime before this, was sleeping at his Pegallies, and a Snake twisted himself about his Neck; but afterwards went away without hurting him. In this Country it is usual to have the Snakes come into the Houses, and into the Ships too; for we had several come aboard our Ship when we lay in the River. But to proceed, *Herman Coppinger* provided to go aboard; and the next day, being the time appointed for Captain *Swan* and all his Men to meet aboard, I went aboard with him, neither of us mistrusted what was designing by those aboard, till we came thither. Then we found it was only a trick to get the Surgeon off; for now, having obtained their Desires, the Canoa was sent ashore again immediately, to desire as many as they could meet to come aboard; but not to tell the Reason, lest Captain *Swan* should come to hear of it.

The 13th Day in the Morning they weighed, and fired a Gun: Capt. *Swan* immediately sent aboard Mr. *Nelly*, who was now his chief Mate, to see what the matter was: To him they told all their Grievances, and shewed him the Journal. He perswaded them to stay till the next day, for an Answer from Captain *Swan* and the Merchants. So they came to an Anchor again, and the next Morning Mr. *Harthop* came aboard: He perswaded them to be reconciled again, or at least to stay and get more Rice: But they were deaf to it, and weighed again while he was aboard. Yet at Mr. *Harthop*'s Perswasion they promised to stay till 2 a Clock in the Afternoon for Captain *Swan*, and the rest of the Men, if they would come aboard; but they suffered no Man to go ashore, except one *William Williams* that had a wooden Leg, and another that was a Sawyer.

If Capt. *Swan* had yet come aboard, he might have dash'd all their designs; but he neither came himself, as a Captain of any Prudence and Courage would have done, nor sent till the time was expired. So we left Captain *Swan* and about 36 Men ashore in the City, and 6 or 8 that run away; and about 16 we had buried there, the most of which died by Poison. The Natives are very expert at Poisoning, and do it upon small occasions: Nor did our Men want for giving Offence, through their general Rogueries, and sometimes by dallying too familiarly with their Women, even before their Faces. Some of their Poisons are slow and lingering; for we had some now aboard who were Poison'd there; but died not till some Months after.

CHAP. XIV

They depart from the River of Mindanao. *Of the time lost or gain'd in sailing round the World: With a Caution to Seamen, about the allowance they are to take for difference of the Suns declination. The South Coast of* Mindanao. Chambongo *Town an Harbour with its Neighbouring Keys. Green Turtle. Ruins of a* Spanish *Fort. The Westermost point of* Mindanao. *Two Proes of the* Sologues *laden from* Manila. *An Isle to the West of* Sebo. *Walking Canes. Isle of* Batts, *very large; and numerous Turtles and Manatee. A dangerous Shoal. They sail by* Panay *belonging to the* Spaniards, *and others of the* Philippine *Islands. Isle of* Mindora. *Two Barks taken. A further account of the Isle* Luconia, *and the City and Harbour of* Manila. *They go off* Pulo Condore *to lye there. The Shoals of* Pracel, *&c.* Pulo Condore. *The Tar-tree. The Mango. Grape-tree. The Wild or Bastard Nutmeg. Their Animals. Of the Migration of the Turtle from place to place. Of the Commodious Situation of* Pulo Condore; *its Water and its* Cochinchinese *Inhabitants. Of the* Malayan *Tongue. The Custom of prostituting their Women in these Countries, and in* Guinea. *The Idolatry here, at* Tunquin, *and among the* Chinese *Seamen, and of a Procession at* Fort *St.* George. *They refit their Ship. Two of them dye of Poyson they took at* Mindanao. *They take in Water, and a Pilot for the Bay of* Siam. Puly Uby; *and Point of* Cambodia. *Two* Cambodian *Vessels. Isles in the Bay of* Siam. *The tight*

Vessels and Seamen of the Kingdom of Champa. *Storms. A* Chinese *Jonk from* Palimbam *in* Sumatra. *They come again to* Pulo Condore. *A bloody Fray with a* Malayan *Vessel. The Surgeon's and the Author's desires of leaving their Crew.*

The 14th Day of *January*, 1687, at 3 of the Clock in the Afternoon we sailed from the River of *Mindanao*, designing to cruise before *Manila*.[19]

[During their stay at Mindanao the English first notice the change of time due to their having journeyed westward. There and in other places they find the people reckoning a full day ahead of themselves, due to the fact that the Portuguese had journeyed thither to the eastward. The computation at the Ladrones is the same as their own. "But how the reckoning was at *Manila*, and the rest of the *Spanish* Colonies in the *Philippine* Islands, I know not; whether they keep it as they brought it, or corrected it by the Accounts of the Natives, and of the *Portuguese, Dutch* and *English*, coming the contrary way from *Europe*."]

We had the Wind at N.N.E. fair clear Weather, and a brisk Gale. We coasted to the Westward, on the South-side of the Island of *Mindanao*, keeping within 4 or 5 Leagues of the Shore. The Land from hence tends away W. by S. It is of a good height by the Sea, and very woody, and in the Country we saw high Hills.

The next Day we were abrest of *Chambongo* [*i.e.*,

[19] Captain Philip Carteret, commander of the royal British sloop "Swallow," in his account of his circumnavigation (1766-69) devotes his eighth chapter to "Some account of the Coast of Mindanao, and the Islands near it, in which several Mistakes of Dampier are corrected." See this account in *Collection of Voy-*

Zamboanga]; a Town in this Island, and 30 Leagues from the River of *Mindanao*. Here is said to be a good Harbour, and a great Settlement, with plenty of Beef and Buffaloe. It is reported that the *Spaniards* were formerly fortified here also: There are two shoals lie off this place, 2 or 3 Leagues from the Shoar. From thence the Land is more low and even; yet there are some Hills in the Country.

About 6 Leagues before we came to the West-end of the Island *Mindanao*, we fell in with a great many small low Islands or Keys, and about two or three Leagues to the Southward of these Keys, there is a long Island stretching N.E. and S.W. about 12 Leagues.[20] This Island is low by the Sea on the North-side, and has a Ridge of Hills in the middle, running from one end to the other. Between this Isle and the small Keys, there is a good large Channel: Among the Keys also there is a good depth of Water, and a violent Tide; but on what point of the Compass it flows, I know not, nor how much it riseth and falls.

The 17th Day we anchored on the East-side of all these Keys, in 8 fathom Water, clean Sand. Here are plenty of green Turtle, whose flesh is as sweet as any in the *West Indies*: but they are very shy. A little to the Westward of these Keys, on the Island *Mindanao*, we saw abundance of Coco-nut Trees:

ages (printed for Richard Phillips, London, 1809), iii, pp. 352-361.

[20] Referring to the Basilan group, ten miles from the Mindanao coast; the largest island is Basilan, which has an area of four hundred and seventy-eight square miles, and there are forty-four dependent islands (fifty-seven, according to *U. S. Gazetteer*). (See *Census of Philippines*, i, p. 283.)

Therefore we sent our Canoa ashore, thinking to find Inhabitants, but found none, nor sign of any; but great Tracts of Hogs, and great Cattle; and close by the Sea there were Ruins of an old Fort. The Walls thereof were of a good heighth, built with Stone and Lime; and by the Workmanship seem'd to be *Spanish*. From this place the Land trends W.N.W. and it is of an indifferent heighth by the Sea. It runs on this point of the Compass 4 or 5 Leagues, and then the Land trends away N.N.W. 5 or 6 Leagues farther, making with many bluff Points.

We weigh'd again the 14th Day, and went thro' between the Keys; but met such uncertain Tides, that we were forced to anchor again. The 22d day we got about the Westermost Point of all *Mindanao*, and stood to the Northward, plying under the Shore, and having the Wind at N.N.E. a fresh Gale. As we sailed along further, we found the Land to trend N. N. E. On this part of the Island the Land is high by the Sea, with full bluff Points, and very woody. There are some small Sandy Bays, which afford Streams of fresh Water.

Here we met with two Prows [*i.e.*, praus] belonging to the *Sologues*, one of the *Mindanaian* Nations before mentioned. They came from *Manila* laden with Silks and Calicoes. We kept on this Western part of the Island steering Northerly, till we came abrest of some other of the *Philippine* Islands, that lay to the Northward of us; then steered away towards them; but still keeping on the West-side of them, and we had the Winds at N.N.E.

The 3d of *February* we anchored in a good Bay on the West side of the Island, in Lat. 9 d. 55 min. where we had 13 Fathom-water, good soft Oaze.

This Island hath no Name that we could find in any Book, but lieth on the West side of the Island *Sebo*.[21] It is about 8 or 10 Leagues long, mountainous and woody. At this place Captain *Read*, who was the same Captain *Swan* had so much railed against in his Journal, and was now made Captain in his room (as Captain *Teat* was made Master, and Mr. *Henry More* Quarter-Master) ordered the Carpenters to cut down our Quarter-Deck, to make the Ship snug, and the fitter for sailing. When that was done we heeled her, scrubbed her Bottom, and tallowed it. Then we fill'd all our Water, for here is a delicate small run of Water.

The Land was pretty low in this Bay, the Mould black and fat, and the Trees of several Kinds, very thick and tall. In some places we found plenty of Canes,[22] such as we use in *England* for Walking-Canes. These were short-jointed, not above two Foot and a half, or two Foot ten Inches the longest, and most of them not above two Foot. They run along on the Ground like a Vine; or taking hold of the Trees, they climb up to their very tops. They are 15 or 20 Fathom long, and much of a bigness from the Root, till within 5 or 6 Fathom of the end. They are of a pale green Colour, cloathed over with a Coat of short thick hairy Substance, of a dun Colour; but it comes off by only drawing the Cane through your Hand. We did cut many of them, and they proved very tough heavy Canes.

We saw no Houses, nor sign of Inhabitants; but

[21] Probably the small island of Guimaras, which lies between Negros and Panay, and which is approximately as described by Dampier. Sebo is, of course, Cebú; but Dampier evidently means Negros Island. The bay was Igan.

[22] Dampier here describes the bejuco, or rattan.

while we lay here, there was a Canoa with 6 Men came into this Bay; but whither they were bound, or from whence they came, I know not. They were *Indians*, and we could not understand them.

In the middle of this Bay, about a Mile from the Shore, there is a small low woody Island, not above a Mile in Circumference; our Ship rode about a Mile from it. This Island was the Habitation of an incredible number of great Batts, with Bodies as big as Ducks, or large Fowl, and with vast Wings: For I saw at *Mindanao* one of this sort, and I judge that the Wings stretcht out in length, could not be less assunder than 7 or 8 Foot from tip to tip; for it was much more than any of us could fathom with our Arms extended to the utmost. The Wings are for Substance like those of other Batts, of a Dun or Mouse colour. The Skin or Leather of them hath Ribs running along it, and draws up in 3 or 4 Folds; and at the joints of those Ribs and the Extremities of the Wings, there are sharp and crooked Claws, by which they may hang on any thing. [A further description of the great bats and their habits follows.] At this Isle also we found plenty of Turtle and Manatee, but no Fish.

We stay'd here till the 10th of *February*, 1687, and then having compleated our Business, we sailed hence with the Wind at North. But going out we struck on a Rock, where we lay two Hours: It was very smooth Water, and the Tide of Flood, or else we should have lost our Ship. We struck off a great piece of our Rudder, which was all the damage that we received, but we more narrowly mist losing our Ships this time, than in any other in the whole Voyage. This is a very dangerous Shoal, because it does

not break, unless probably it may appear in foul Weather. It lies about two mile to the Westward, without the small Batt Island. Here we found the Tide of Flood setting to the Southward, and the Ebb to the Northward.

After we were past this Shoal, we Coasted along by the rest of the *Philippine* Islands, keeping on the West-side of them. Some of them appeared to be very Mountainous dry Land. We saw many Fires in the Night as we passed by *Panay*, a great Island settled by *Spaniards*, and by the Fires up and down it seems to be well settled by them; for this is a *Spanish* Custom, whereby they give Notice of any Danger or the like from Sea; and 'tis probable they had seen our Ship the day before. This is an unfrequented Coast, and 'tis rare to have any Ship seen there. We touched not at *Panay*, nor any where else; tho' we saw a great many small Islands to the Westward of us, and some Shoals, but none of them laid down in our Draughts.

The 18th Day of *Feb.* we anchored at the N.W. end of the Island *Mindora*,[28] in 10 Fathom-water, about 3 quarters of a Mile from the Shore. *Mindora* is a large Island; the middle of it lying in Lat. 13. about 40 Leagues long, stretching N.W. and S.E. It is High and Mountainous, and not very Woody. At this Place where we anchored the

[28] The name Mindoro is by some writers derived from *mina de oro*, as it was supposed to be rich in gold. In the document showing that the Spaniards took formal possession of it (for reference to which see our VOL. III, p. 105, note 32), it is called *Luzon le menor* ("Luzón the less;" cf. p. 74).

"This island was formerly called Mainit, and the Spaniards gave it the name of Mindoro, on account of a village called Minolo, which lay between Puerto de Galeras and the harbor of Ylog." (Concepción, *Hist. de Philipinas*, viii, p. 8.)

Land was neither very high nor low. There was a small Brook of Water, and the Land by the Sea was very Woody, and the Trees high and tall, but a League or two farther in, the Woods are very thin and small. Here we saw great tracks of Hogs and Beef, and we saw some of each, and hunted them; but they were wild, and we could kill none.

While we were here, there was a Canoa with 4 *Indians* came from *Manila*. They were very shy of us a while: but at last, hearing us speak *Spanish*, they came to us, and told us, that they were going to a Fryer that liv'd at an *Indian* Village towards the S.E. end of the Island. They told us also, that the Harbour of *Manila* is seldom or never without 20 or 30 Sail of Vessels, most *Chinese*, some *Portugueze*, and some few the *Spaniards* have of their own. They said, that when they had done their business with the Fryer they would return to *Manila*, and hoped to be back again at this place in 4 Days time. We told them, that we came for a Trade with the *Spaniards* at *Manila*, and should be glad if they would carry a Letter to some Merchant there, which they promised to do. But this was only a pretence of ours, to get out of them what intelligence we could as to their Shipping, Strength, and the like, under Colour of seeking a Trade; for our business was to pillage. Now if we had really designed to have Traded there, this was as fair an opportunity as Men could have desired: for these Men could have brought us to the Frier that they were going to, and a small Present to him would have engaged him to do any kindness in the way of Trade: for the *Spanish* Governors do not allow of it, and we must Trade by stealth.

The 21st Day we went from hence with the Wind at E.N.E. a small gale. The 23d Day in the Morning we were fair by the S.E. end of the Island *Luconia*, the Place that had been so long desired by us. We presently saw a Sail coming from the Northward, and making after her we took her in 2 Hours time. She was a *Spanish* Bark, that came from a place called *Pangasanam*, a small town on the N. end of *Luconia*, as they told us; probably the same with *Pangassinay*, which lies on a Bay at the N. W. side of the Island. She was bound to *Manila* but had no goods aboard; and therefore we turned her away.

The 23d. we took another *Spanish* Vessel that came from the same place of the other. She was laden with Rice and Cotton-Cloth, and bound for *Manila* also. These Goods were purposely for the *Acapulco* Ship: The Rice was for the Men to live on while they lay there, and in their return: and the Cotton-cloth was to make Sail. The Master of this Prize was Boatswain of the *Acapulco* Ship which escaped us at *Guam*, and was now at *Manila*. It was this Man that gave us the Relation of what Strength it had, how they were afraid of us there, and of the accident that happen'd to them, as is before mentioned in the 10th Chapter. We took these two Vessels within 7 or 8 Leagues of *Manila*.

Luconia I have spoken of already: but I shall now add this further account of it. It is a great Island, taking up between 6 and 7 degrees of Lat. in length, and its breadth near the middle is about 60 Leagues; but the ends are narrow. The North-end lies in about 19 d. North Lat. and the S. end in about 12 d. 30 m. This great Island hath abun-

dance of small Keys or Islands lying about it; especially at the North-end. The South-side fronts towards the rest of the *Philippine* Islands: Of these that are its nearest Neighbours, *Mindora*, lately mentioned, is the chief, and gives name to the Sea or Streight that parts it and the other Islands from *Luconia*: being called the Streights of *Mindora*.

The Body of the Island *Luconia* is composed of many spacious plain Savannahs, and large Mountains. The North-end seems to be more plain and even, I mean freer from Hills, than the South-end: but the Land is all along of a good heighth. It does not appear so flourishing and green as some of the other Islands in this Range; especially that of St. *John, Mindanao, Batt* Island, *&c.* yet in some places it is very Woody. Some of the Mountains of this Island afford Gold, and the Savannahs are well stockt with herds of Cattle, especially Buaffaloes [*sic*]. These Cattle are in great plenty all over the *East-Indies*; and therefore 'tis very probable that there were many of these here even before the *Spaniards* come hither. But now there are now also plenty of other Cattle, as I have been told, as Bullocks, Horses, Sheep, Goats, Hogs, *&c.* brought hither by the *Spaniards*.

It is pretty well inhabited with *Indians*, most of them, if not all, under the *Spaniards*, who now are masters of it. The Native *Indians* do live together in Towns; and they have Priests among them to instruct them in the *Spanish* Religion.

Manila the chief, or perhaps the only City, lies at the foot of a ridge of high Hills, facing upon a spacious Harbour near the S.W. point of the Island, in about the Lat. of 14 d. North. It is environ'd

with a high strong Wall, and very well fortify'd with Forts and Breast-works. The Houses are large, strongly built, and covered with Pan-tile. The Streets are large and pretty regular; with a Parade in the midst, after the *Spanish* fashion. There are a great many fair Buildings, beside Churches and other Religious Houses; of which there are not a few.

The Harbour is so large, that some hundreds of Ships may ride here: and is never without many, both of their own and strangers. I have already given you an account of the two Ships going and coming between this place and *Acapulco*. Besides them, they have some small Vessels of their own; and they do not allow the *Portuguese* to trade here, but the *Chinese* are the chiefest Merchants, and they drive the greatest Trade; for they have commonly 20 or 30, or 40 Jonks in the Harbour at a time, and a great many Merchants constantly residing in the City, beside Shop-keepers, and Handy-crafts-men in abundance. Small Vessels run up near the Town, but the *Acapulco* Ships and others of greater burthen, lye a League short of it, where there is a strong Fort also, and Store-houses to put Goods in.

I had the major part of this relation 2 or 3 years after this time, from Mr. *Coppinger* our Surgeon; for he made a Voyage hither from *Porto Nova*, a Town on the Coast of *Coromandel*; in a *Portuguese* Ship, as I think. Here he found 10 or 12 of Captain *Swan's* men; some of those that we left at *Mindanao*. For after we came from thence, they brought a Proe there, by the Instigation of an *Irish man*, who went by the name of *John Fitz-Gerald*, a person that spoke *Spanish* very well; and

View of the city of Manila; from Dampier's *Nouveau voyage autour du monde* (Amsterdam, 1698)

[*From copy in Library of Congress*]

so in this their Proe they came hither. They had been here but 18 months when Mr. *Coppinger* arrived here, and Mr. *Fitz-Gerald* had in this time gotten a Spanish Mustesa Woman to Wife, and a good Dowry with her. He then professed Physick and Surgery, and was highly esteemed among the *Spaniards* for his supposed knowledge in those Arts: for being always troubled with sore Shins while he was with us, he kept some Plaisters and Salves by him; and with these he set up upon his bare natural stock of knowledge, and his experience in Kibes. But then he had a very great stock of Confidence withal, to help out the other, and being an *Irish Roman* Catholick, and having the *Spanish* Language he had a great advantage of all his Consorts; and he alone lived well there of them all. We were not within sight of this Town, but I was shewn the Hills that over-looked it, and drew a draft of them as we lay off at Sea; which I have caused to be engraven among a few others that I took my self: . . .

[The season for successful operations near Manila having passed, the mutineers decide to go to some islands near the Cambodian shore to wait until about May, the time for the Acapulco galleon, choosing those islands as they were somewhat retired. The prisoners are set ashore on the island of Luzon, and that island is left February 26. On March 14 anchor is cast on Pulo (or Island) Condore, the largest and only inhabited one of those islands which lie in north latitude 8° 40′. A short description of the islands, their products, fauna, and inhabitants (who are Cochinchinese) and some of their customs follows. At this island the ship is

careened and refitted. There also "2 of our Men died, who were poison'd at *Mindanao*, they told us of it when they found themselves poison'd, and had linger'd ever since. They were opened by our Doctor, according to their own Request before they died, and their Livers were black, light and dry, like pieces of Cork." After filling the water-butts anchor is weighed (April 21) and the course taken to Pulo Ubi near Siam, reaching that island April 23. From that date until May 13 they cruise about the bay of Siam where they are becalmed. May 24 they anchor again at Pulo Condore, together with a Chinese vessel laden with pepper from Sumatra; from its men they learn that the "*English* were settled in the Island *Sumatra*, at a place called *Sillabar*; and the first knowledge we had that the *English* had any settlement on *Sumatra* was from these."[24] An attempt there to investigate a Malayan vessel ends fatally for a number of the English; for the Malays, thinking them to be pirates, set upon the boarding party, and kill a number of them. At that island also the surgeon, Herman Coppinger, attempts to escape, but is taken back to the ship. Dampier is only deterred from making the same attempt because he desires a more conven-

[24] From 1603 the English, as well as the Dutch, had a factory at Bantam for the purchase of pepper, which they maintained for eighty years. In 1683 the Dutch sent a considerable force from Batavia and expelled the English from Bantam; the latter, after being baffled at Achin, made a settlement at Bencoolen (1685), where they built Fort York. This site proved insalubrious, and in 1714 its successor, Fort Marlborough, was erected, away from the river. In 1824, Bencoolen and the factories dependent on it were given over to the Dutch, in exchange for Malacca and some factories in India. (Crawfurd's *Dict. Ind. Islands*, p. 48). Sellebar was a village not far east from Bencoolen.

ient opportunity. "For neither he nor I, when we were last on board at *Mindanao*, had any knowledge of the Plot that was laid to leave Captain *Swan*, and run away with the Ship; and being sufficiently weary of this mad Crew, we were willing to give them the slip at any place from whence we might hope to get a passage to an *English* Factory."]

CHAP. XV

They leave Pulo Condore, *designing for* Manila, *but are driven off from thence, and from the Isle of* Prata, *by the Winds, and brought upon the Coast of* China. *Isle of* St. John, *on the Coast of the Province of* Canton; *its Soil and Productions,* China *Hogs*, &c. *The Inhabitants; and of the* Tartars *forcing the* Chinese *to cut off their Hair. Their Habits, and the little Feet of their Women.* China-*ware* China-*roots, Tea*, &c. *A Village at* St. John's *Island, and of their Husbandry of their Rice. A Story of a* Chinese Pagoda, *or Idol-Temple, and Image. Of the* China *Jonks, and their Rigging. They leave* St. John's *and the Coast of* China. *A most outragious Storm.* Corpus Sant, *a Light, or Meteor appearing in Storms. The* Piscadores, *or* Fishers *Islands near* Formosa: *A* Tartarian *Garrison, and* Chinese *Town on one of these Islands. They anchor in the Harbour near the* Tartars *Garrison, and treat with the Governour. Of* Amoy *in the Province of* Fokieu, *and* Macao *a* Chinese *and* Portuguese *Town near* Canton *in* China. *The Habits of a* Tartarian *Officer and his Retinue. Their Presents, excellent Beef.* Samciu, *a sort of* Chinese Arack, *and* Hocciu *a kind of* Chinese *Mum, and*

the Jars it is bottled in. Of the Isle of Formosa, *and the five Islands; to which they give the Names of* Orange, Monmouth, Grafton, Bashee, *and* Goat-*Islands, in general, the* Bashee-*Islands. A Digression concerning the different depths of the Sea near high or low Lands. The Soil,* &c. *as before. The Soil, Fruits and Animals of these Islands. The Inhabitants and their Cloathing. Rings of a yellow Metal like Gold. Their Houses built on remarkable Precipices. Their Boats and Employments. Their Food, of Goat Skins, Entrails, &c. Parcht Locusts.* Bashee, *or Sugar-cane Drink. Of their Language and Original, Launces and* Buffaloe *Coats. No Idols, nor civil Form of Government. A young Man buried alive by them; supposed to be for Theft. Their Wives and Children, and Husbandry. Their Manners, Entertainments, and Traffick. Of the Ships first Entercourse with these People, and Bartering with them. Their Course among the Islands; their stay there, and provision to depart. They are driven off by a violent Storm, and return. The Natives Kindness to 6 of them left behind. The Crew discouraged by those Storms, quit their design of Cruising off* Manila *for the* Acapulco *Ship; and 'tis resolved to fetch a Compass to Cape* Comorin, *and so for the* Red-Sea.

[The first part of this chapter, as is seen by the above list of contents, relates to China and islands near the Chinese coast. Most of the second half of the chapter relates to the Bashee or Batanes Islands and is as follows.]

We stayed here [*i.e.*, at the Piscador Islands near

China] till the 29th Day [of July, 1687], and then sailed from hence with the Wind at S.W. and pretty fair Weather. We now directed our course for some Islands we had chosen to go to, that lye between *Formosa* and *Luconia*. They are laid down in our Plots without any name, only with a figure of 5, denoting the number of them. It was supposed by us, that these Islands had no Inhabitants, because they had not any name by our Hydrographers. Therefore we thought to lye there secure, and be pretty near the Island *Luconia*, which we did still intend to visit.

In going to them we sailed by the South West end of *Formosa*, leaving it on our Larboard-side. This is a large Island; the South-end is in Lat. 21 d. 20 m. and the North-end in 25 d. 10 m. North Lat. the Longitude of this Island is laid down 142 d. 5 m. to 143 d. 16 m. reckoning East from the Pike of *Tenariffe*, so that 'tis but narrow; and the Tropick of *Cancer* crosses it. It is a High and Woody Island, and was formerly well inhabited by the *Chinese*, and was then frequently visited by *English* Merchants, there being a very good Harbour to secure their Ships. But since the *Tartars* have conquered *China*, they have spoiled the Harbour, (as I have been informed) to hinder the *Chinese* that were then in Rebellion, from Fortifying themselves there; and ordered the Foreign Merchants to come and Trade on the Main.

The sixth day of *August* we arrived at the five Islands that we were bound to, and anchored on the East-side of the Northermost Island, in 15 Fathom, a Cable's length from the Shore. Here, contrary to our Expectation, we found abundance of Inhabit-

ants in sight; for there were 3 large Towns all within a League of the Sea; and another larger Town than any of the three, and the backside of a small Hill close by also, as we found afterwards. These Islands lie in Lat. 20 d. 20 m. North Lat. by my Observation, for I took it there, and I find their Longitude according to our Drafts, to be 141 d. 50 m. These Islands having no particular Names in the Drafts, some or other of us made use of the Seamens priviledge, to give them what Names we pleased. Three of the Islands were pretty large; the Westermost is the biggest. This the Dutchmen who were among us called the Prince of *Orange*'s Island, in honour of his present Majesty. It is about 7 or 8 Leagues long, and about two Leagues wide; and it lies almost N. and S. The other two great Islands are about 4 or 5 Leagues to the Eastward of this. The Northermost of them, where we first anchored, I called the Duke of *Grafton*'s Isle, as soon as we landed on it; having married my W[i]fe out of his Dutchess's Family, and leaving her at *Arlington*-house, at my going Abroad. This Isle is about 4 Leagues long, and one League and a half wide, stretching North and South. The other great Island our Seamen called the Duke of *Monmouth's* Island. This is about a League to the Southward of *Grafton* Isle. It is about 3 Leagues long, and a League wide, lying as the other. Between *Monmouth* and the South end of *Orange* Island, there are two small Islands of a roundish Form, lying East and West. The Eastermost Island of the two, our Men unanimously called *Bashee* Island,[25] from

[25] The Bashee or Bachi Islands form the northern cluster of the northern group of islands, called Batanes, which lie north of

a Liquor which we drank there plentifully every day, after we came to an Anchor at it. The other, which is the smallest of all, we called *Goat* Island, from the great number of Goats there; and to the Northward of them all, are two high Rocks.

Orange Island, which is the biggest of them all, is not Inhabited. It is high Land, flat and even on the top, with steep Cliffs against the Sea; for which

Luzón. They are the most northern of all the American possessions in the Orient, and are separated from Formosa by the strait of Bachi. The islands composing the cluster are Mabudis, Misanga, Siayan, Tanan, and Y'Ami (all inhabited), the last being the most northern. The Batanes are composed in all of ten named islands and forty unnamed islets and rocks, the southern cluster including Bachi Rocks; Batán, the central and most important island of the group; Déquez; Diamis Rocks; Diego; Ibayat (or Isbayat), the largest of these islands; Ibugos; North; and Sabtán. The name of Bachi is sometimes extended to the entire group, and it is probable that Dampier's five islands, or at least some of them, were among the southern cluster; for Déquez Island is also called Goat; Ibayat, Orange; and Ibugos, Bachi. The group is separated on the south from the Babuyanes by the Balingtán Channel. The larger islands bear indications of a late volcanic origin; the smaller islands are generally low, and rest upon foundations of coral. In this group are a number of good harbors; but communication between the islands is difficult because of the strong currents in the channels and the scarcity of anchorages. The exports of the islands consist of lard, cocoanut oil, hogs, horses, goats, and some valuable woods. The soil is fertile, especially of Batán, and many vegetables are produced. Some of the products of the United States can be successfully raised. The chief industry is the raising of cattle, hogs, goats, and horses, the last being of superior quality and in demand. A catechism of the dialect spoken in the Batanes was published by a friar in 1834, an examination of which has led Dr. Pardo de Tavera to the conclusion that the aboriginal tongue differed considerably from the other Filipino dialects, as it contains the sound "tsch" and a nasal sound like the French "en." It is probable, however, that the present population of the Batanes, as well as of the Babuyanes, is composed very largely of Ibánag from the Cagayán Valley (Luzón), introduced there as colonists by the Dominican friars. This population is Christian. The earlier population must have borne considerable resemblance to the natives of Formosa. See *Gazetteer of Philippine Islands*, and *Census of the Philippines*, i, pp. 264, 448.

Reason we could not go ashore there, as we did on all the rest.

[Some general remarks on high and low lands and anchorages nearby follow, in which the author states almost as an axiom that good anchorages are found near low lands, while high rocky lands have poor anchorages.]

But to return from this Digression, to speak of the rest of these Islands. *Monmouth* and *Grafton* Isles are very Hilly, with many of those steep inhabited Precipi[c]es on them, that I shall describe particularly. The two small Islands are flat and even; only the *Bashee* Island hath one steep scraggy Hill, but Goat Island is all flat and very even.

The Mold of these Islands in the Valley, is blackish in some places, but in most red. The Hills are very rocky: The Valleys are well watered with Brooks of fresh Water, which run into the Sea in many different places. The Soil is indifferent fruitful, especially in the Valleys; producing pretty great plenty of Trees (tho' not very big) and thick Grass. The sides of the Mountains have also short Grass; and some of the Mountains have Mines within them, for the Natives told us, That the yellow Metal they shewed us, (as I shall speak more particularly) came from these Mountains; for when they held it up they would point towards them.

The fruit of the Islands are a few Plantains, Bonanoes, Pineapples, Pumkins, Sugar-canes, *&c.* and there might be more if the Natives would, for the Ground seems fertile enough. Here are great plenty of Potatoes, and Yames, which is the common Food for the Natives, for Bread-kind: For those few Plantains they have, are only used as Fruit.

They have some Cotton growing here of the small Plants.

Here are plenty of Goats, and abundance of Hogs; but few Fowls, either wild or tame. For this I have always observed in my Travels, both in the *East* and *West Indies*, that in those Places where there is plenty of Grain, that is, of Rice in one, and Maiz in the other, there are also found great abundance of Fowls; but on the contrary, few Fowls in those Countries where the Inhabitants feed on Fruits and Roots only. The few wild Fowls that are here, are Parakites, and some other small Birds. Their tame Fowl are only a few Cocks and Hens.

Monmouth and *Grafton* Islands are very thick inhabited; and *Bashee* Island hath one Town on it. The Natives of these Islands are short squat People; they are generally round visaged, with low Foreheads, and thick Eye-brows; their Eyes of a hazle colour, and small, yet bigger than the *Chinese*; short low Noses, and their Lip and Mouths middle proportioned. Their Teeth are white; their Hair is black, and thick, and lank, which they wear but short; it will just cover their Ears, and so it is cut round very even. Their Skins are of a very dark copper colour.

They wear no Hat, Cap, nor Turban, nor any thing to keep off the Sun. The Men for the biggest part have only a small Clout to cover their Nakedness; some of them have Jackets made of Plantain-leaves, which were as rough as any Bear's-skin: I never saw such rugged Things. The Women have a short Petticoat made of Cotton, which comes a little below their Knees. It is a thick sort of stubborn Cloth, which they make themselves of their Cotton.

Both Men and Women do wear large Ear-rings, made of that yellow Metal before mentioned. Whether it were Gold or no I cannot positively say: I took it to be so, it was heavy, and of the colour of our paler Gold. I would fain have brought away some to have satisfied my Curiosity; but I had nothing where with to buy any. Captain *Read* bought two of these Rings with some Iron, of which the People are very greedy; and he would have bought more, thinking he was come to a very fair Market, but that the paleness of the Metal made him and the Crew distrust its being right Gold. For my part, I should have ventured on the purchase of some, but having no property in the Iron, of which we had great store on board, sent from *England*, by the Merchants along with Captain *Swan*, I durst not barter it away.

These Rings when first polished look very gloriously, but time makes them fade, and turn to a pale yellow. Then they make a soft Paste of red Earth, and smearing it over their Rings, they cast them into a quick Fire, where they remain till they be red hot; then they take them out and cool them in Water, and rub off the Paste; and they look again of a glorious Colour and Lustre.

These People make but small low Houses. The sides which are made of small Posts, watled with Boughs, are not above 4 foot and a half high: the Ridge-pole is about 7 or 8 foot high. They have a Fire-place at one end of their Houses, and Boards placed on the Ground to lye on. They inhabit together in small Villages built on the sides and tops of rocky Hills, 3 or 4 rows of Houses one above another, and on such steep Precipices, that they go

up to the first Row with a wooden Ladder, and so with a Ladder still from every Story up to that above it, there being no way to ascend. The Plain on the first Precipice may be so wide, as to have room both for a Row of Houses that stand all along on the Edge or Brink of it, and a very narrow Street running along before their Doors, between the Row of Houses and the foot of the next Precipice; the Plain of which is in a manner level to the tops of the Houses below, and so for the rest. The common Ladder to each Row or Street comes up at a narrow Passage left purposely about the middle of it; and the Street being bounded with a Precipice also at each end, 'tis but drawing up the Ladder, if they be assaulted, and then there is no coming at them from below, but by climbing up as against a perpendicular Wall: And that they may not be assaulted from above, they take care to build on the side of such a Hill, whose backside hangs over the Sea, or is some high, steep, perpendicular Precipice, altogether inaccessible. These Precipices are natural; for the Rocks seem too hard to work on; nor is there any sign that Art hath been employed about them. On *Bashee* Island there is one such, and built upon, with its back next the Sea. *Grafton* and *Monmouth* Isles are very thick set with these Hills and Towns; and the Natives, whether for fear of Pirates, or Foreign Enemies, or Factions among their own Clans, care not for Building but in these Fastnesses; which I take to be the Reason that *Orange* Isle, though the largest, and as Fertile as any, yet being Level, and exposed, hath no Inhabitants. I never saw the like Precipices and Towns.

These Towns are pretty Ingenious also in build-

ing Boats. Their small Boats are much like our *Deal* Yalls, but not so big; and they are built with very narrow Plank, pinn'd with wooden Pins, and some Nails. They have also some pretty large Boats, which will carry 40 or 50 Men. These they Row with 12 or 14 Oars of a side. They are built much like the small ones, and they Row doubled Banked; that is, two Men setting on one Bench, but one Rowing on one side, the other on the other side of the Boat. They understand the use of Iron, and work it themselves. Their Bellows are like those at *Mindanao*.

The common Imployment for the Men is Fishing; but I did never see them catch much: Whether it is more plenty at other times of the Year I know not. The Women do manage their Plantations.

I did never see them kill any of their Goats or Hogs for themselves, yet they would beg the Panches of the Goats that they themselves did sell to us: And if any of our surly Seamen did heave them into the Sea, they would take them up again and the Skins of the Goats also. They would not meddle with Hog-guts, if our Men threw away any beside what they made Chitterlings and Sausages of. The Goatskins these People would carry ashore, and making a Fire they would singe off all the Hair, and afterwards let the Skin lie and Pearch on the Coals, till they thought it eatable; and then they would knaw it, and tear it to pieces with their Teeth, and at last swallow it. The Paunches of the Goats would make them an excellent Dish; they drest it in this manner. They would turn out all the Chopt Grass and Crudities found in the Maw into their Pots, and set it over the Fire, and stir it about often: This would

Smoak and Puff, and heave up as it was Boyling; wind breaking out of the Ferment, and making a very savory Stink. While this was doing, if they had any Fish, as commonly they had 2 or 3 small Fish, these they would make very clean (as hating nastiness belike) and cut the Flesh from the Bone, and then mince the Flesh as small as possibly they could, and when that in the Pot was well boiled, they would take it up, and strewing a little Salt into it, they would eat it, mixt with their raw minced Flesh. The Dung in the Maw would look like so much boil'd Herbs minc'd very small; and they took up their Mess with their Fingers, as the *Moors* do their Pilaw,[26] using no Spoons.

They had another Dish made of a sort of Locusts, whose Bodies were about an Inch and an half long, and as thick as the top of one's little Finger; with large thin Wings, and long and small Legs. At this time of the Year these Creatures came in great Swarms to devour their Potato-leaves, and other Herbs; and the Natives would go out with small Nets, and take a Quart at one sweep. When they had enough, they would carry them home, and Parch them over the Fire in an earthen Pan; and then their Wings and Legs would fall off, and their Heads and Backs would turn red like boil'd Shrimps, being before brownish. Their Bodies being full, would eat very moist, their Heads would crackle in one's Teeth. I did eat once of this Dish, and liked it well enough; but their other Dish my Stomach would not take.

Their common Drink is Water; as it is of all other

[26] Pillau or pilau, a Turkish dish consisting of boiled rice and mutton fat.

Indians: Beside which they make a sort of Drink with the Juice of the Sugar-cane, which they boil, and put some small black sort of Berries among it. When it is well boiled, they put it into great Jars, and let it stand 3 or 4 days and work. Then it settles and becomes clear, and is presently fit to drink. This is an excellent Liquor, and very much like *English* Beer, both in Colour and Taste. It is very strong, and I do believe very wholesome: For our Men, who drunk briskly of it all day for several Weeks, were frequently drunk with it, and never sick after it. The Natives brought a vast deal of it every day to those aboard and ashore: For some of our Men were ashore at work on *Bashee* Island; which Island they gave that Name to from their drinking this Liquor there; that being the Name which the Natives call'd this Liquor by: and as they sold it to our Men very cheap, so they did not spare to drink it as freely. And indeed from the plenty of this Liquor, and their plentiful use of it, our Men call'd all these Islands, the *Bashee* Islands.

What Language these People do speak I know not: for it had no affinity in sound to the *Chinese*, which is spoke much through the Teeth; nor yet to the *Malayan* Language. They called the Metal that their Ear-rings were made of *Bullawan*, which is the *Mindana* word for Gold; therefore probably they may be related to the *Philippine Indians*; for that is the general Name for Gold among all those *Indians*. I could not learn from whence they have their Iron; but it is most likely they go in their great Boats to the North end of *Luconia*, and Trade with the *Indians* of that Island for it. Neither did I see any thing beside Iron, and pieces of Buffaloes

Hides, which I could judge that they bought of Strangers: Their Cloaths were of their own Growth and Manufacture.

These Men had Wooden Lances, and a few Lances headed with Iron; which are all the Weapons that they have. Their Armour is a piece of Buffaloe-hide, shaped like our Carters Frocks, being without Sleeves, and sowed both sides together, with holes for the Head and the Arms to come forth. This Buff-Coat reaches down to their Knees: It is close about their Shoulders, but below it is 3 Foot wide, and as thick as a Board.

I could never perceive them to Worship any thing, neither had they any Idols; neither did they seem to observe any one day more than other. I could never perceive that one Man was of greater Power than another; but they seemed to be all equal; only every Man ruling his own House, and the Children Respecting and Honouring their Parents.

Yet 'tis probable that they have some Law, or Custom, by which they are govern'd; for while we lay here we saw a young Man buried alive in the Earth; and 'twas for Theft, as far as we could understand from them. There was a great deep hole dug, and abundance of People came to the Place to take their last Farewell of him: Among the rest, there was one Woman who made great Lamentation, and took off the condemn'd Person's Ear-rings. We supposed her to be his Mother. After he had taken his leave of her and some others, he was put into the Pit, and covered over with Earth. He did not struggle, but yielded very quietly to his Punishment; and they cramm'd the Earth close upon him, and stifled him.

They have but one Wife, with whom they live and agree very well; and their Children live very obediently under them. The Boys go out a Fishing with their Fathers; and the Girls live at home with their Mothers: And when the Girls are grown pretty strong, they send them to their Plantations, to dig Yames and Potatoes; of which they bring home on their Heads every day enough to serve the whole Family; for they have no Rice nor Maize.

Their Plantations are in the Valleys, at a good distance from their Houses; where every Man has a certain spot of Land, which is properly his own. This he manageth himself for his own use; and provides enough, that he may not be beholding to his Neighbour.

Notwithstanding the seeming nastiness of their Dish of Goats Maw, they are in their Persons a very neat cleanly People, both Men and Women: And they are withal the quietest and civilest People that I did ever meet with. I could never perceive them to be angry with one another. I have admired to see 20 or 30 Boats aboard our Ship at a time, and yet no difference among them; but all civil and quiet, endeavouring to help each other on occasion; No noise nor appearance of distaste: and although sometimes cross Accidents would happen, which might have set other Men together by the Ears, yet they were not moved by them. Sometimes they will also drink freely, and warm themselves with their Drink; yet neither then could I ever perceive them out of Humour. They are not only thus civil among themselves, but very obliging and kind to Strangers; nor were their Children rude to us, as is usual. Indeed the Women, when we came to

their Houses, would modestly beg any Rags, or small pieces of Cloth, to swaddle their young ones in, holding out their Children to us; and begging is usual among all these wild Nations. Yet neither did they beg so importunely as in other Places; nor did the Men ever beg any thing at all. Neither, except once at the first time we came to an Anchor (as I shall relate) did they steal any thing; but dealt justly, and with great sincerity with us; and made us very welcome to their Houses with *Bashee* drink. If they had none of this Liquor themselves, they would buy a Jar of Drink of their Neighbours, and sit down with us: for we could see them go and give a piece or two of their Gold for some Jars of *Bashee*. And indeed among Wild *Indians*, as these seem to be, I wonder'd to see buying and selling, which is not so usual; nor to converse so freely, as to go aboard Stranger's Ships with so little caution: Yet their own small Trading may have brought them to this. At these entertainments they and their Family, Wife and Children drank out of small Callabashes; and when by themselves, they drink about from one to another; but when any of us came among them, they would always drink to one of us.

They have no sort of Coin; but they have small Crumbs of the Metal before described, which they bind up very safe in Plantain Leaves, or the like. This Metal they exchange for what they want, giving a small quantity of it, about 2 or 3 Grains, for a Jar of Drink, that would hold 5 or 6 Gallons. They have no Scales, but give it by guess. Thus much in general.

To proceed therefore with our Affairs, I have said before, that we anchored here the 6th day of

August. While we were furling our Sails, there came near 100 Boats of the Natives aboard, with 3 or 4 Men in each; so that our Deck was full of Men. We were at first afraid of them, and therefore got up 20 or 30 small Arms on our Poop, and kept 3 or 4 Men as Centinels, with Guns in their Hands, ready to fire on them if they had offered to molest us. But they were pretty quiet, only they pickt up such old Iron that they found on our Deck, and they also took out our Pump-Bolts, and Linch-Pins out of the Carriages of our Guns, before we perceived them. At last, one of our Men perceived one of them very busie getting out one of our Linch Pins; and took hold of the fellow, who immediately bawl'd out, and all the rest presently leaped overboard, some into their Boats, others into the Sea; and they all made away for the Shore. But when we perceived their Fright, we made much of him that was in hold, who stood Trembling all the while; and at last we gave him a small piece of Iron, with which he immediately leapt overboard and swam to his Consorts; who hovered about our Ship to see the Issue. Then we beckned to them to come aboard again, being very loth to lose a Commerce with them. Some of the Boats came aboard again, and they were always very Honest and Civil afterward.

We presently after this sent a Canoa ashore, to see their manner of living, and what Provision they had: The Canao's Crew were made very welcome with Bashee drink, and saw abundance of Hogs, some of which they bought, and returned aboard. After this the Natives brought aboard both Hogs and Goats to us in their own Boats; and every day

we should have 15 or 20 Hogs and Goats in Boats aboard by our side. These we bought for a small matter; we could buy a good fat Goat for an old Iron Hoop, and a Hog of 70 or 80 pound weight for 2 or 3 pound of Iron. Their drink also they brought off in Jars, which we bought for old Nails, Spikes, and Leaden Bullets. Besides the fore-mentioned Commodities, they brought aboard great quantities of Yams and Potatoes; which we purchased for Nails, Spikes, or Bullets. It was one Man's work to be all day cutting out Bars of Iron into small pieces with a cold Chisel: And these were for the great Purchases of Hogs and Goats, which they would not sell for Nails, as their Drinks and Roots. We never let them know what Store we have, that they may value it the more. Every Morning, as soon as it was light, they would thus come aboard with their Commodities; which we bought as we had occasion. We did commonly furnish our selves with as many Goats and Roots as served us all the day; and their Hogs we bought in large Quantities, as we thought convenient; for we salted them. Their Hogs were very sweet; but I never saw so many Meazled ones.

We filled all our Water at a curious Brook close by us in *Grafton*'s Isle, where we first anchored. We stayed there about three or four days, before we went to other Islands. We sailed to the Southward, passing on the East-side of *Grafton* Island, and then passed thro' between that and *Monmouth* Island; but we found no Anchoring till we came to the North end of *Monmouth* Island, and there we stopt during one Tide. The Tide runs very strong here, and sometimes makes a short chopping Sea.

Its course among these Islands is S. by E. and N. by W. The Flood sets to the North, and Ebb to the South, and it riseth and falleth 8 Foot.

When we went from hence, we coasted about 2 Leagues to the Southward, on the West side of *Monmouth* Island; and finding no Anchor-ground, we stood over to the *Bashee* Island, and came to an Anchor on the North East part of it, against a small sandy Bay, in 7 fathom clean hard Sand, and about a quarter of a Mile from the Shore. Here is a pretty wide Channel between these two Islands, and Anchoring all over it. The Depth of Water is 12, 14, and 16 Fathom.

We presently built a Tent ashore, to mend our Sails in, and stay'd all the rest of our time here, *viz.* from the 13th day of *August* till the 26th day of *September*. In which time we mended our Sails, and scrubb'd our Ships bottom very well; and every day some of us went to their Towns, and were kindly entertained by them. Their Boats also came aboard with their Merchandize to sell, and lay aboard all Day; and if we did not take it off their Hands one Day, they would bring the same again the next.

We had yet the Winds at S.W. and S.S.W. mostly fair Weather. In *October* we did expect the Winds to shift to the N.E. and therefore we provided to sail (as soon as the Eastern Monsoon was settled) to cruize off at *Manila*. Accordingly we provided a stock of Provision. We salted 70 or 80 good fat Hogs, and bought Yams and Potatoes good store to eat at Sea.

About the 24th day of *September*, the Winds shifted about to the East, and from thence to the

N.E. fine fair Weather. The 25th it came at N. and began to grow fresh, and the Sky began to be clouded; and the Wind freshened on us.

At 12 a clock at night it blew a very fierce Storm. We were then riding with our best Bower[27] a Head and though our Yards and Top-mast were down, yet we drove. This obliged us to let go our Sheet-Anchor, veering out a good scope of Cable, which stopt us till 10 or 11 a clock the next day. Then the Wind came on so fierce, that she drove again, with both Anchors a-head. The Wind was now at N. by W. and we kept driving till 3 or 4 a clock in the afternoon: and it was well for us that there were no Islands, Rocks, or Sands in our way, for if there had, we must have been driven upon them. We used our utmost endeavours to stop here, being loath to go to Sea, because we had six of our Men ashore, who could not get off now. At last we were driven off into deep Water, and then it was in vain to wait any longer: Therefore we hove in our Sheet Cable, and got up our Sheet Anchor, and cut away our best Bower, (for to have heav'd her up then would have gone near to have foundred us) and so put to Sea. We had very violent Weather the night ensuing, with very hard Rain, and we were forced to scud with our bare Poles till 3 a Clock in the morning. Then the Wind slacken'd, and we brought our Ship to, under a mizen, and lay with our Head to the Westward. The 27th day the Wind abated much, but it rained very hard all day, and the Night ensuing. The 28th day the Wind came about to the N.E. and it cleared up, and blew a hard Gale, but it stood not there, for it shifted about to the East-

[27] An anchor carried at the bow of a ship.

ward, thence to the S.E. then to the South, and at last settled at S.W. and then we had a moderate Gale and fair Weather.

It was the 29th day when the Wind came to the S.W. Then we made all the Sail we could for the Island again. The 30th day we had the Wind at West, and saw the Islands; but could not get in before night. Therefore we stood off to the Southward till two a Clock in the morning; then we tackt, and stood in all the morning, and about 12 a clock, the 1st day of *October*, we anchored again at the place from whence we were driven.

Then our six men were brought aboard by the Natives, to whom we gave 3 whole Bars of Iron, for their kindness and civility, which was an extraordinary to them. Mr. *Robert Hall* was one of the Men that was left ashore. I shall speak more of him hereafter. He and the rest of them told me, that after the Ship was out of sight, the Natives began to be more kind to them than they had been before, and persuaded them to cut their Hair short, as theirs was, offering to each of them if they would do it, a young Woman to Wife, and a small Hatchet, and other Iron Utensils, fit for a Planter, in Dowry; and withal shewed them a piece of Land for them to manage. They were courted thus by several of the Town where they then were: but they took up their head quarters at the House of him with whom they first went ashore. When the Ship appeared in sight again, then they importuned them for some Iron, which is the chief thing that they covet, even above their Ear-rings. We might have bought all their Ear-rings, or other Gold they had, with our Iron-bars, had we been assured of its good-

ness; and yet when it was touch'd and compar'd with other Gold, we could not discern any difference, tho' it look'd so pale in the lump; but the seeing them polish it so often, was a new discouragement.

This last Storm put our Men quite out of heart: for although it was not altogether so fierce as that which we were in on the Coast of *China*, which was still fresh in Memory, yet it wrought more powerfully, and frighted them from their design of cruising before *Manila*, fearing another Storm there. Now every Man wisht himself at home, as they had done an hundred times before: But Captain *Read*, and Captain *Teat* the Master, persuaded them to go toward Cape *Comorin*, and then they would tell them more of their Minds, intending doubtless to cruize in the *Red Sea*; and they easily prevailed with the Crew.

The Eastern Monsoon was now at hand, and the best way had been to go through the Streights of *Malacca*; but Captain *Teat* said it was dangerous, by reason of many Islands and Shoals there, with which none of us were acquainted. Therefore he thought it best to go round on the East-side of all the *Philippine* Islands, and so keeping South toward the *Spice Islands*, to pass out into the *East-Indian* Ocean about the Island *Timor*.

This seemed to be a very tedious way about, and as dangerous altogether for Sholes; but not for meeting with *English* or *Dutch* Ships, which was their greatest Fear. I was well enough satisfied, knowing that the farther we went, the more Knowledge and Experience I should get, which was the main Thing that I regarded; and should also have

the more variety of Places to attempt an Escape from them, being fully resolv'd to take the first opportunity of giving them the slip.

CHAP. XVI

They depart from the Bashee *Islands, and passing by some others, and the N. End of* Luconia. *St.* John's *Isle, and other of the* Philippines. *They stop at the two Isles near* Mindanao; *where they re-fit their Ship, and make a Pump after the* Spanish *fashion. By the young Prince of the Spice Island they have News of Captain* Swan, *and his Men, left at* Mindanao: *The Author proposes to the Crew to return to him; but in vain; The Story of his Murder at* Mindanao. *The Clove-Islands.* Ternate. Tidore, *&c. The Island* Celebes, *and* Dutch *Town of* Macasser. *They coast along the East side of* Celebes, *and between it and other Islands and Sholes, with great difficulty. Shy Turtle. Vast Cockles. A wild Vine of great Virtue for Sores. Great Trees; one excessively big. Beacons instead of Buoys on the Sholes. A Spout: a Description of them, with a Story of one. Uncertain Tornadoes. Turtle. The Island* Bouton, *and its chief Town and Harbour* Callasusung. *The Inhabitants. Visits given and receiv'd by the Sultan. His Device in the Flag of his Proe: His Guards, Habit, and Children. Their Commerce. Their different esteem (as they pretend) of the* English *and* Dutch. *Maritime* Indians *sell others for Slaves. Their Reception in the Town. A Boy with 4 rows of Teeth. Parakites. Crockadores, a sort of White Parrots. They pass among other*

inhabited Islands, Omba, Pentare, Timore, *&c. Sholes.* New Holland: *laid down too much Northward. Its Soil, and Dragon-trees. The poor winking inhabitants: their Feathers, Habit, Food, Arms,* &c. *The way of fetching Fire out of Wood. The Inhabitants on the Islands. Their Habitations, Unfitness for Labour,* &c. *The great Tides here. They design for the Island* Cocos, *and Cape* Comorin.

The third Day of *October* 1687, we sailed from these Islands, standing to the Southward; intending to sail through among the Spice Islands. We had fair Weather, and the Wind at West. We first steer'd S.S.W. and passed close by certain small Islands that lye just by the North-end of the Island *Luconia.*[28] We left them all on the West of us, and past on the East-side of it, and the rest of the *Philippine* Islands, coasting to the Southward.

The N. East-end of the Island *Luconia* appears to be good Champion Land, of an indifferent heighth, plain and even for many Leagues; only it has some pretty high Hills standing upright by themselves in these Plains; but no ridges of Hills, or chains of Mountains joyning one to another. The Land on this side seems to be most Savannah, or Pasture: The S.E. part is more Mountainous and Woody.

Leaving the Island *Luconia*, and with it our Golden Projects, we sailed on to the Southward, pass-

[28] The Babuyanes Islands. Salazar relates (*Hist. Sant. Rosario*, pp. 361-369) in detail a raid made by an English pirate (August, 1685) on the islands of Babuyanes, Bari, and Camiguin, then in charge of Dominican missionaries. They plundered the village of Babuyanes and its church; and this raid caused the deaths of two of the missionaries there.

ing on the East-side of the rest of the *Philippine* Islands. These appear to be more Mountainous, and less Woody, till we came in sight of the Island St. *John*; the first of that name I mentioned: the other I spake of on the Coast of *China*. This I have already described to be a very woody Island. Here the Wind coming Southerly, forced us to keep farther from the Islands.

The 14 day of *October* we came close by a small low woody Island, that lieth East from the S.E. end of *Mindanao*, distant from it about 20 Leagues. I do not find it set down in any Sea-Chart.

The 15th day we had the Wind at N.E. and we steered West for the Island *Mindanao*, and arrived at the S.E. end again in the 16th day. There we went in and anchored between two small Islands, which lie in about 5 d. 10 m. North Lat. I mentioned them when we first came on this Coast. Here we found a fine small Cove, on the N.W. end of the Eastermost Island [*i.e.*, Sarangani], fit to careen in, or hale ashore; so we went in there, and presently unrigg'd our Ship, and provided to hale our Ship ashore, to clean her bottom. These Islands are about 3 or 4 Leagues from the Island *Mindanao*; they are about 4 or 5 Leagues in Circumference, and of a pretty good heighth. The Mold is black and deep; and there are two small Brooks of fresh Water.

They are both plentifully stored with great high Trees; therefore our Carpenters were sent ashore to cut down some of them for our use; for here they made a new Boltsprit, which we did set here also, our old one being very faulty. They made a new Fore-yard too, and a Fore-top-mast: And our

Pumps being faulty, and not serviceable, they did cut a Tree to make a Pump. They first squared it, then sawed it in the middle, and then hollowed each side exactly. The two hollow sides were made big enough to contain a Pump-box in the midst of them both, when they were joined together; and it required their utmost Skill to close them exactly to the making a tight Cylinder for the Pump-box; being unaccustomed to such work. We learnt this way of Pump-making from the *Spaniards*; who make their Pumps that they use in their Ships in the *South-Seas* after this manner; and I am confident that there are no better Hand-pumps in the World than they have.

While we lay here, the young Prince that I mentioned in the 13th Chapter, came aboard. He understanding that we were bound farther to the Southward, desired us to transport him and his Men to his own Island. He shewed it to us in our Draft, and told us the Name of it; which we put down in our Draft, for it was not named there; but I quite forgot to put it into my Journal.

This Man told us, that not above six days before this, he saw Captain *Swan*, and several of his Men that we left there, and named the Names of some of them, who, he said, were all well, and that now they were at the City of *Mindanao*; but that they had all of them been out with *Raja Laut*, fighting under him in his Wars against his Enemies the *Alfoores*; and that most of them fought with undaunted Courage; for which they were highly honoured and esteemed, as well by the Sultan, as by the General *Raja Laut*; that now Capt. *Swan* intended to go with his Men to Fort *St. George*, and that in order

thereto, he had proffered forty Ounces of Gold for a Ship; but the Owner and he were not yet agreed; and that he feared that the Sultan would not let him go away till the Wars were ended.

All this the Prince told us in the *Malayan* tongue, which many of us had learnt; and when he went away he promised to return to us again in 3 days time, and so long Captain *Read* promised to stay for him (for we had now almost finished our Business) and he seemed very glad of the opportunity of going with us.

After this I endeavoured to perswade our Men, to return with the Ship to the River of *Mindanao*, and offer their Service again to Captain *Swan*. I took an opportunity when they were filling of Water, there being then half the Ships Company ashore; and I found all these very willing to do it. I desired them to say nothing, till I had tried the Minds of the other half, which I intended to do the next day; it being their turn to fill Water then; But one of these Men, who seemed most forward to invite back Captain *Swan*, told Captain *Read* and Captain *Teat* of the Project, and they presently disswaded the Men from any such Designs. Yet fearing the worst, they made all possible haste to be gone.

I have since been informed, that Captain *Swan* and his Men stayed there a great while afterward; and that many of the Men got passage from thence in *Dutch* Sloops to *Ternate*, particularly Mr. *Rofy*, and Mr. *Nelly*. There they remained a great while, and at last got to *Batavia* (where the *Dutch* took their Journals from them) and so to *Europe*; and that some of Captain *Swan*'s Men died at *Min-*

danao; of which number Mr. *Harthrope*, and Mr. *Smith*, Captain *Swan*'s Merchants were two. At last Captain *Swan* and his Surgeon going in a small Canoa aboard of a *Dutch* Ship then in the Road, in order to get Passage to *Europe*, were overset by the Natives at the Mouth of the River; who waited their coming purposely to do it, but unsuspected by them; where they both were kill'd in the Water. This was done by the General's Order, as some think, to get his Gold, which he did immediately seize on. Others say, it was because the General's House was burnt a little before, and Captain *Swan* was suspected to be the Author of it; and others say, That it was Captain *Swan*'s Threats occasioned his own Ruin; for he would often say passionately, that he had been abused by the General, and that he would have satisfaction for it; saying also, that now he was well acquainted with their Rivers, and knew how to come in at any time; that he also knew their manner of Fighting, and the Weakness of their Country; and therefore he would go away, and get a Band of Men to assist him, and returning thither again, he would spoil and take all that they had, and their Country too. When the General had been informed of these Discourses, he would say, What, is Captain *Swan* made of Iron, and able to resist a whole Kingdom? Or does he think that we are afraid of him, that he speaks thus? Yet did he never touch him, till now the *Mindanayans* kill'd him. It is very probable there might be somewhat of Truth in all this; for the Captain was passionate, and the General greedy of Gold. But whatever was the occasion, so he was killed, as several have assured me, and his Gold seized on, and all

his Things; and his Journal also from *England*, as far as Cape *Corrientes* on the Coast of *Mexico*. This Journal was afterwards sent away from thence by Mr. *Moody* (who was there both a little before and a little after the Murder) and he sent it to *England* by Mr. *Goddard*, Chief Mate of the *Defence*.

'But to our purpose: Seeing I could not persuade them to go to Captain *Swan* again, I had a great desire to have had the Prince's Company: But Captain *Read* was afraid to let his fickle Crew lie long. That very day that the Prince had promised to return to us, which was *November* 2. 1687. we sailed hence, directing our course South-West, and having the Wind at N.W.

[The course of the ship after leaving Mindanao may be seen from the heading to this chapter. Of Australia (or New Holland, as it was then called) Dampier says: "*New Holland* is a very large tract of Land. It is not yet determined whether it is an Island or a main Continent; but I am certain that it joyns neither to *Asia, Africa*, nor *America*."]

[From Australia (chap. xvii) the adventurers sail along until they reach Nicobar Island, where Dampier and two others receive permission to remain, together with four Malays and a Portuguese; and have various adventures with the natives of that island. Finally leaving there (chap. xviii), they go to Sumatra, where the small band is decimated by the death of one Malay and the Portuguese. The two Englishmen go to the English factory. Leaving the island, Dampier sets out as boatswain of an English ship for Nicobar, but returns to Achin. Thence he makes various voyages (in 1688 and

1689) in Eastern waters, and finally becomes gunner at the English factory at Bencouli (1690); but, that post proving uncongenial, he deserts and takes passage for England (January 2, 1691). The journey to the Dutch colony at the Cape of Good Hope (chap. xix – misnumbered xx) witnesses a slight engagement between the French, with whom hostilities have broken out, and the Dutch and English; and the mysterious death of many of the sailors on the English vessel, from the bad water, Dampier thinks. England is finally reached (chap. xx), and the author's long voyage is over, September 16, 1691.]

PETITION FOR DOMINICAN MISSIONARIES

Fray Francisco de Villalva of the Order of Preachers, and procurator-general (in virtue of powers which he presents) of the province of Santo Rosario, which the said order has in the Filipinas Islands, declares: That, as is well-known, the religious of his order in the said islands have converted to the Catholic faith, and now have in their charge, the provinces of Cagayan, Pangasinan, Mandayas, part of Tagalos, Zambales, and the island of Babuyanes – in which territory there is diversity of languages, and a great number of convents provided with ministers for the instruction of the Indian natives; from this labor always has been and still is gathered the spiritual harvest which is well known. Moreover, those fathers have made extensive conquests in various parts of those kingdoms, founding many churches – as they actually are maintaining public worship at this very time in the vast empire of Great China. There they are suffering immense hardships and persecutions, shedding their blood in the violent acts committed by tyranny, in order to plant there the Christian faith and religion; for this cause, and in its defense, seventy-eight religious have given their lives as martyrs in that province, leaving

the church made illustrious by this triumph. And besides this, they have in the city of Manila their principal convent, which continually maintains the practices of hearing confessions, preaching, and giving consolation in the sicknesses and trials of the citizens, with great comfort to all. They have also the college of Santo Tomàs, in which are taught grammar, the arts, and scholastic and moral theology, to the benefit of all that community and the entire archipelago. They support students holding fellowships, usually twenty-four to thirty, without receiving any stipend; and have thus sent out, as they are still doing, graduates of much learning, for the dignities and curacies of those islands. They have also another college, that of San Juan de Letran, with more than a hundred orphan boys, the sons of poor soldiers who have died in the service of your Majesty – giving them all that is necessary for their support, and instructing them in reading, writing, religious conduct, and virtue; while those boys who are not inclined to study are aided in obtaining positions as soldiers, artillerists, mariners, and in other occupations in which they are employed to the service of your Majesty. Another enterprise is also at the expense and charge of the said religious order and province – the Parian, which is the silk-market of the Chinese; it is close to the walls of Manila, and from five to six thousand Chinamen usually reside in it. For the Christians preaching in their own language is furnished every feast-day in their own church, and there is continual preaching to the heathen through the streets; with this labor they have made a great many conversions, and gained an enormous number of souls. For this same nation

those fathers maintain a hospital, in which, with the good example of those religious, and their instruction and continual assistance in the sicknesses of the Chinese, they have gained so great a harvest that from its foundation (which was in the former year of 1588) to the present year of 1677,[29] seldom has a patient died without receiving the water of holy baptism. This religious order also have at San Juan del Monte a sanctuary which is the object of devotion of all that colony; and at the port of Cavite, three leguas distant from Manila – where the galleons and other vessels of smaller size are built – they have the convent of San Thelmo, the religious of which assist the soldiers, mariners, and sailors with their preaching and instruction, so that all of them may live Christian and orderly lives.

This religious province administers the functions entrusted to it without any worldly advantage, receiving neither imposts nor fees for burials, marriages, feast-days, or sermons – its religious being supported only by the stipend which your Majesty assigns to the ministers in the mission villages; and from this amount they spend much and distribute [alms] among the poor and needy Indians of their districts. Nor is there in any convent of the said province any fixed income; nor has the province ever accepted deposits or valuable articles, or permitted its individual religious to keep these things in their

[29] So in the text; probably a typographical error, since Villalba did not leave the Philippines until 1683, and remained in Nueva España until at least 1686 (*Reseña biográfica*, ii, pp. 79-80). It is probable that this document was written at least as late as 1687, for confirmation of which see Villalba's own statement, *post*, that the mission band for which he was asking would go about eleven or twelve years after the last concession of this sort had been made; the mission before this one had reached Manila in August, 1679.

cells, or anything except a breviary and the holy Bible, for the preaching of the holy gospel. Their clothing is of coarse, rough frieze without, and their inner garments of what your Majesty (whom may God guard) grants them as alms. All this is evident by the publicity of the facts, and by official information which on various occasions has been sent to the glorious Catholic sovereigns, your Majesty's predecessors, and to their royal and supreme Council of the Indias by the governor and royal Audiencia of the islands, and the cabildos, ecclesiastical and secular, of the said city of Manila.

In consideration of these things, and of the fact that so numerous Christian communities are persevering in the Catholic faith, and that these are spreading with the new conversions, his Majesty who is now in glory, moved by the fervent zeal which he always had for the good of souls, continued to send to the said islands religious of the Order of St. Dominic, in order that by their apostolic lives and doctrine they might teach and preach the holy gospel. And finally, in the past year of 1668 her Highness the queen-regent, the mother of your Majesty, was pleased to grant permission that some of those religious should go thither at the cost of the royal treasury; in accordance with this thirty-three religious went to those islands, thirty priests and three lay brethren.[30] But, although that permission and the number of missionaries were enough for one shipment, they do not suffice for the succor of so many souls as that province has in its charge, and for the new conversions which continually present them-

[30] In the Dominican mission of 1671 came thirty-five religious (*Reseña biográfica*, ii, pp. 101-194).

selves. Moreover, with the long voyage, the unaccustomed climates, the continual toil, and the austerity which is observed by this province – which follows the primitive rule of its order – the number of its members must necessarily diminish. This has actually been the case, since from the time when permission was given for the last shipload of religious, which was nine years ago, a greater number have died than those who went to the islands in that band, as was evident from the last reports which the said province sent [to España], and which the petitioner will exhibit, if necessary. And today, counting in the sick, crippled, and old men, there are not ninety priests in the said province; and even though there were many more, since more are actually necessary it is highly expedient that other and fresh religious should go thither, that they may be rendering themselves capable in the languages and ministries, so that ready and intelligent laborers may never be lacking for the instruction and teaching of the natives, and for the new conversions, which our sovereigns the Catholic kings of España have so earnestly striven to maintain and increase, sending religious every four or six years, and sometimes every two years; without the ministries being less than they are now, nor do fewer die now than then.

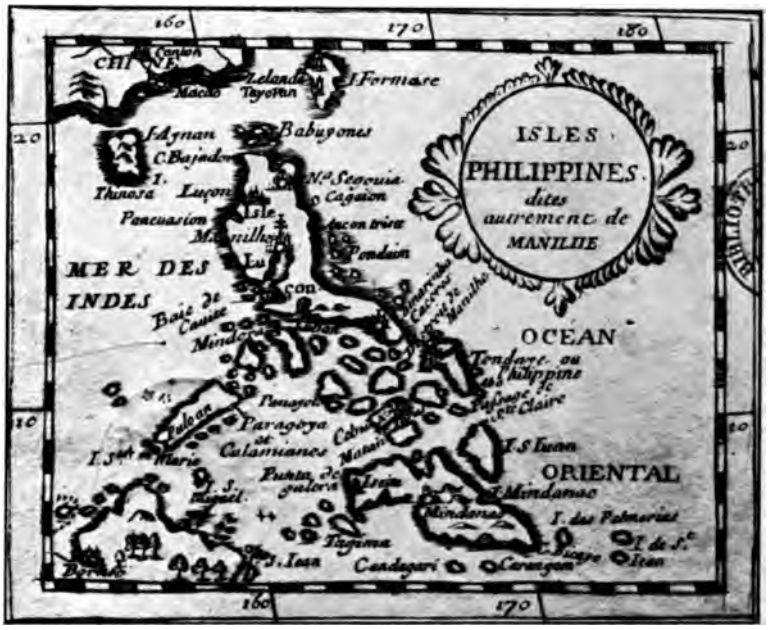
In order to provide those who should go, and to find the number for whom your Majesty shall be pleased to grant permission, to obtain information about them, to examine into their virtue and learning, and to secure a judicious choice, the petitioner needs about a year, in which time he can go personally to the convents of the three provinces of España; for

the importance of so delicate a matter will not permit that it be entrusted to letters alone. Accordingly, he should have at least the time until St. John's day next, or when the first fleet shall be equipped; otherwise he cannot sail from España and make a voyage to Filipinas with religious. To reach those islands, two years are usually required, and at the very least more than one year; and by that time eleven or twelve years will have passed since the last permission [of that sort]. In that protracted course of time, there must necessarily have occurred many deaths among the laborers who work in that vineyard – of whose labor and conversion of souls God has made watch-towers for our sovereigns the Catholic kings of España, and for their royal and supreme Council of the Indias, upon whom is laid this heavy weight of obligation – in fulfilling which they have always made every exertion, giving permissions, orders, means, and aid to the ministers who have gone thither to cultivate that field.

Therefore the said province, and the said Fray Francisco de Villalva in its name, have recourse to the kindness and fervent zeal of your Majesty, with which you have always striven for the preservation and propagation of the Catholic faith; and prostrate at your royal feet he entreats that your Majesty will be pleased to take pity on so many souls and the conversions for which the religious of St. Dominic are caring and in which they are laboring in the said Filipinas Islands. They ask that you will grant to the said province forty religious,[31] and a suitable

[31] The mission which came to the islands in 1694 contained forty-three religious, besides four others who remained in Nueva España. (*Reseña biográfica*, ii, pp. 363-457.)

number of lay brethren; and to the petitioner permission to conduct them thither in his company, and the necessary supplies for him and them, so that on the first opportunity when there is a fleet they may embark for their voyage. In this, God our Lord will regard himself as well served; and that poor and remote province will be anew constrained, in return for this favor and grace, to continue its prayers and sacrifices for the life and health of your Majesty, and for the welfare and increase of your entire monarchy.



Map of the Philippine Islands; photographic facsimile from Pierre du Val's *La géographie universelle*, "Isles Philippines" (Paris, 1682)

[*From copy of original map in Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris*]

EVENTS IN FILIPINAS, 1686-88

Diary of new events in Filipinas, from June, 1686 to June in 87

On June 11, 1686, the galleon "Santo Niño" discovered, twenty-two leguas from the island of San Juan, a new island, larger than any of those discovered in Marianas; it is named San Bernabé, because it was discovered on the day of that saint.

On July 11 the bells were rung in Manila for the arrival of the galleon "Santa Rosa."

On the twelfth they hanged five Sangleys, who were found guilty in the mutiny.

On the fourteenth news came that all the people who were in the lancha that lost its course in Marianas had safely reached port in Cagayan.

On the eighteenth the courier[32] arrived with the mail.

On the nineteenth the auditor Don Diego Calderon died.

On the second of August, Licentiate Don Rafael Tome, a student in San José, died.

On the twenty-seventh, the sloop for Marianas sailed from Cavite; and Fathers Diego de Zarzosa

[32] Spanish, *gentilhombre*: an obsolete word, meaning a person sent to the king with important despatches (Velázquez's *Dictionary*, Appleton's ed.).

and Jacinto Garcia,[33] and Brother Melchor de los Reyes, embarked in it.

On the twenty-sixth, our mail reached Manila. On the twenty-eighth, that from Roma was opened, and no [provision for our] government was found.

At the beginning of September, the Augustinians brought suit against us before the archbishop, regarding the administration of Mariquina.

On the sixth of October, Father Jose Lopez died in Palapag.

On the twelfth the father provincial, Francisco Salgado,[34] and the father rector, Luis Pimentel,[35] were notified of the judicial decision by the archbishop – who, declaring himself to be a competent judge, notwithstanding [our] challenge of his cognizance, although he had approved our licenses and

[33] Jacinto Garcia was born in Castellar, November 6, 1654, and at the age of twenty-one entered the Jesuit order. Four years later he joined the Philippine mission; he was procurator of the Manila college for three years, and superior in Marinduque for the same time. He died at Manila, May 1, 1710. (Murillo Velarde, fol. 397 b.)

[34] Francisco Salgado was born in Galicia, April 2, 1629, and at the age of nineteen became a Jesuit novice. In 1662 he went to the Philippines. He spent several years as a teacher, and afterwards as vice-rector, in the college of St. Joseph, and later was rector of Silang. He went to Europe (about 1674?) as procurator for his order, and returned in 1679 with a band of missionaries; later, he was rector of the Manila college, and provincial (1683). His death occurred at Manila, July 14, 1689. (Murillo Velarde, fol. 357.)

[35] Luis Pimentel was born in Portillo, on May 30, 1612. In 1632 he entered the Jesuit order, and eleven years later joined the Philippine mission. He was a teacher in the college at Manila for two years, and afterward was at the head of various Jesuit residences. He was sent to Europe as procurator (about 1656?), and came back in 1666 with a band of missionaries; and afterward was three times rector of St. Joseph college, and three times provincial (1670, 1675, 1687). He died at San Miguel on July 5, 1689. (Murillo Velarde, fol. 356 b.)

our administration of the sacraments, revoked the said licenses, and decreed that no one of the Society should minister in Mariquina,[36] and that the ministry there should devolve upon the Augustinians.

On the same day, the twelfth of October, it was decided in a provincial council that the paths of government should be opened. The first was entered by Father Geronimo de Ortega, and the second by Father Juan Andres de Palavicino; but, on account of the death of both these, Father Luis Pimentel – at the time, rector of the college of San Ignacio – began to govern.

On the thirteenth of October, the armada entered the port of Cavite.

[36] On account of a ranch which the college of San Ignacio at Manila possesses in the land of Meybonga, not far from the said city – its name being Jesus de la Peña, or Mariquina – the Society began to administer the sacraments, establishing the mission village of Mariquina, or Jesus de la Peña, by authority from Don Fray Pedro de Arce, bishop of Zebù and apostolic ruler of the archbishopric of Manila, on April 16, 1630; this was confirmed by the vice-patron, Don Juan Niño de Tabora, governor of these islands, on April 22, 1630. The said village was cared for by the minister stationed in Santa Cruz, or by a father sent by the rector of the college of Manila, who was the director of the said village; for this no stipend was asked from his Majesty, because the minister was not permanently established there, and therefore the said college maintained him, without suspending, for lack of a stipend, the ministry in the said village. In the year 1675, the Society was confirmed in this administration by a royal decree, dated July 26, on account of the Society's right to the said parish having been disputed by the religious of St. Augustine, from November, 1669. In 1681, the number of parishioners having increased, it was judged necessary to station a permanent minister there, for the better administration of the sacraments, and to build a house and a larger church; and, as it was thus necessary to incur larger expenses, the Society asked, in 1685, that to this minister be given the stipend which his Majesty assigns to the parish priests, in accordance with the number of tributes. The fiscal of his Majesty replied that in view of what the Society was accomplishing there, a suitable stipend should be given. In the year 1686, the religious

On the fifteenth, Father Antonio Jaramillo [87] began to officiate as rector of the college of Manila.

On the eighteenth of October, a decree was made known to the provisor, who had gone to Mariquina and Pasig, forbidding any official whatever of the archbishopric from taking action in matters pertaining to the lawsuit of Mariquina.

On the twenty-first, a decree was made known to the archbishop strictly charging him that he must refrain from taking action in the lawsuit of Mariquina, and that he must exhibit the records.

On the eighteenth of December, the archbishop was notified and charged not to disturb us in the Mariquina affair. On the nineteenth, a similar charge was laid upon the prior of Pasig; and another, on the twentieth, on the prior-general of the Augustinians.

of St. Augustine claimed that that Indian village belonged to them, as an annex to the ministry of Pasig. The archbishop issued an act, on October 11, 1686, in which, while admitting as valid the sacraments administered by the Society, he took from all its religious permission to minister in Jesus de la Peña; and on March 10, 1687, he declared that the lawful parish priest of the mission of Jesus de la Peña was the prior of Pasig, a religious of St. Augustine. In this spoliation concurred also, through complaisance, the governor Don Gabriel Curuzelaegui, who on March 23 of the said year decreed that Don Juan Pimentel, alcalde of Tondo, should begin proceedings against the Society in the mission of Jesus de la Peña, as the king commanded; and that he should assist the provisor in tearing down our church – which he did, commanding the Indians to demolish that temple. What obedience! the monster of the Indias, an unnatural birth of remoteness, of power, and of prejudice." (Murillo Velarde, *Hist. de Philipinas*, fol. 345 b.)

[87] Antonio Mateo Xaramillo was born at Zafra February 23, 1648, and became a Jesuit novice at the age of seventeen. He was sent to the Marianas Islands in 1678, and spent sixteen years in missionary labors. While rector at Manila he was sent to Spain as procurator; and he died at Ocaña, on December 30, 1707. (Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque Comp. Jésus*, viii, col. 1321.)

On the same day, the twentieth of December, the archbishop sent a denunciation of excommunication, with the curse of God – Father, Son, and Holy Spirit – and his own, and that of the apostles Peter and Paul, to the governor and to Auditor Bolivar, in order that they should not interfere in the Mariquina affair.

Year of 1687

On the twenty-first of January, 1687, General Don Juan de Zalaeta was arrested by order of the governor, and thrust into the sulphur dungeon [*calabozo de azufre*]. *Item*, they also arrested Licentiate Don Miguel de Lozama, and conveyed him, wearing two pairs of fetters, to the fort of San Gabriel. The goods of both were seized, and several of their clerks arrested.

On the twenty-second, Doña Ynes, the wife of the said Don Miguel, sent a petition to the said governor, who answered that the judge of the suit was Don Francisco Velasco, alcalde-in-ordinary. Doña Ynes came before the royal Audiencia, and that body passed an act providing that the said alcalde should, after taking the confession of the accused, present the documents within twenty-four hours. The governor, having seen this decree, issued another, prohibiting further action by the royal Audiencia, and ordering the alcalde to prosecute the case without surrendering the documents. At night the governor summoned the auditors and fiscal to a conference, and made an address to them – from which resulted, as was noticed, great fear in the auditors, who almost decided to forsake the Audiencia, and take refuge in sanctuary.

On the seventh of February, they arrested the auditor Don Diego de Viga, put him on a vessel, and conveyed him to the island of Mariveles. At the same time they made the most careful search, in order to seize the auditor Don Pedro de Bolivar; but by that time he had fled to sanctuary.

On the fourteenth of February, they took from his house, where she had remained with guards, Doña Josefa Moran de la Cueva, the wife of the auditor Don Pedro de Bolivar, and carried her into banishment at Abucay.

On the sixteenth, they also seized Doña Ynes, sister of the said Doña Josefa, and wife of Licentiate Don Miguel de Lezama, and carried her to the same place, Abucay.

On the twenty-sixth of February, the college of the Society of Jesus was surrounded [by soldiers], to remove thence the person of the auditor Don Pedro de Bolivar; and not finding him, the men remained on guard, both within and without the college, for the space of nine days. In that time they searched the house eleven times – four of these with violence, wrenching the locks from doors, and breaking open tables; but they did not find the said Don Pedro. At the end of the nine days, he showed himself, of his own accord, and they arrested him and took him to Mariveles; several days before they had removed from the said island the auditor Don Diego de Viga, and transferred him to that of Lucban.

Just about this time a new Audiencia was formed, which was thus arranged: the governor was its president; the royal fiscal became an auditor, Captain Don Jose Cervantes was judge of Audiencia, and Captain Juan de Agulo attorney-general.

On the fourth of March – the day on which [the college of] the Society was first searched with violence – the English pirate captured a sloop of the king's, which was coming from Pangasinan laden with three thousand cabans of cleaned rice. *Item*, he also captured a champan belonging to the alcalde of Pangasinan, which came laden with rice and other products.[38]

On the same day, the fourth of March, the archbishop sent to Mariquina to investigate whether Father Diego de Ayala was officiating as cura; the latter prevented the notary from doing so, and, when other people went to make the said investigation, he told them that they need not take that trouble – that he was acting as cura in virtue of the bull of St. Pius V and of his assignment [to that parish] by the [royal] patron.

On the fifth of March there was preaching in the royal chapel by a Recollect friar, against whom the governor issued a royal decree very sharply rebuking him, which he caused to be read to all the religious orders. A few days later, the archbishop sent an act to the prior of Pasig, ordering him to officiate as cura to the people of Cainta.[39]

[38] The English pirate here alluded to was probably the ship on which Dampier voyaged to the Philippines, as that vessel was, at the time here mentioned, cruising off the coast of Luzón (see his own account of this, *ante*, p. 91). The name of Captain Swan's vessel in which Dampier sailed was the "Cygnet." That ship separated from Captain Davis in the "Batchelor's Delight" in Realejo Harbor, August 27, 1685. See Lionel Wafer's *Voyage and description of Isthmus of America* (London, 1699), p. 189.

[39] "Soon after the beginning of the spiritual conquest of Tagalos, the Society undertook the administration of Cainta, a village close to Mariquina. Because the rectitude of its minister, Father Miguel Pareja, restrained some Indian chiefs, so that they should

About Christmas, the royal magazines in Panay were burned, and in them some six thousand cabans of rice. On the first of March, Saturday, the Augustinians set fire to the cottage on the ranch which the college of the Society of Jesus at Yloilo owns in Suaraga. On the following Saturday, March 8, fire visited the Augustinians, destroying a visita, a church and convent, and more than forty houses in the village. *Item*, and the following Saturday, March 15, the church and house were burned in the village of Dumangas, without their being able to save their valuables, or to prevent the burning of the pious offerings [*colectas*] of Cebu, which had been stored [in that convent]; and, besides this, more than two thousand cabans of rice.

On the sixteenth of March, Passion Sunday, while Father Diego de Ayala was saying mass in the village, the church was entered by armed men, with Bachelor Teodoro de Aldana, the notary of the arch-

not use for themselves the property of the community, to the injury of the rest, they, seeing the excellent opportunity afforded to them by the ecclesiastical tribunal, endeavored to avail themselves of it, instigated by one who should, on account of his character and his obligations, have restrained them. They are an insolent people, and a seditious person (who is never lacking) can easily disturb the minds of the crowd. They hastened to complain to the archbishop of his ministers, and he, without hearing the Society, despoiled it of that administration, on March 16, 1688, and bestowed it on the religious of St. Augustine. The archbishop demanded aid from the governor in order to arrest Father Diego de Ayala and Father Pedro Cano, on complaints either frivolous or false, without having made any specific charges against them, or notifying their superiors." (Murillo Velarde, fol. 345.)

"From the first conquest Cainta was a visita of Taytay, the ministry of both villages being the very same, until, its population increasing – Indians, and creoles or *morenos* (thus they designate the black negroes [*negros atezados*]) – it seemed expedient to give Cainta its own minister." (Murillo Velarde, fol. 406 b.)

bishop; the prior of Pasig, with two laymen; and other people. After mass was ended, they read to the Indians an act by the archbishop, which commanded them, under penalty of flogging and the galleys, to appear within three days before the prior of Pasig, resorting to the latter for religious ministrations, and to repeat the sacraments.

On the seventeenth of March, the father procurator, Antonio de Borja,[40] presented a petition to the governor that he, as vice-patron, should take measures regarding the violent spoliation which the archbishop had inflicted on the Society. The governor referred the petition to the royal fiscal, as being his Lordship's counselor, but the said fiscal excused himself. Then it was referred to Doctor Cervantes, to Fray Francisco de Santa Ynes, and to many other persons, both ecclesiastics and laymen, but all excused themselves; and in these proceedings much time passed, so that it was the end of May before anything was accomplished.

On the nineteenth of March, in the afternoon, the secretary came to deliver in behalf of the royal court a verbal message to the father procurator [*sic*] Antonio Jaramillo, advising him of the oversight of the preacher, who that morning in the sermon – at which the governor and the king's fiscal were present – had omitted to use the phrase, "very potent sir." The same message was sent to the superiors of the other religious orders, because, several days before,

[40] Antonio de Borja was born at Valencia in 1644, and at the age of twenty-seven went to the Philippine missions. He acted as rector of various Jesuit colleges, and died at Manila on January 27, 1711. (Sommervogel.) He is only mentioned incidentally by Murillo Velarde (fol. 383), as being an envoy to the kings of Mindanao and Joló.

the prior of St. Augustine and another religious, a Dominican, had fallen into the same offense, when preaching in the royal chapel.

On the twenty-seventh of March, Holy Thursday, the monument[41] of the Tagálogs in the church of Santo Domingo was burned. On the twenty-eighth, Good Friday, there was a fire in Binondo and part of Tondo; and one thousand two hundred and sixty houses were destroyed – two hundred and fifty-eight in the village of Tondo, and one thousand and two in that of Binondo. Thirteen persons were burned to death, and many others escaped only with serious injuries. The fire caught three times in the church of Binondo, but the Indians of San Miguel and Dilao put it out.

On the twelfth of April the archbishop demanded aid from the governor, and with it arrested the cantor Don Geronimo de Herrera, and placed him in the fort of Santiago. Soon afterward, the governor caused the arrest of Don Juan de Cordoba and one Carcano, respectively procurator and receptor in the royal Audiencia; and afterward, on the twentieth of April, of Blas de Armenta, secretary of the court, and of Captain Diego de Vargas and others.

On the twenty-second of April Father Ferragut died in the college.

On the eighteenth of April, Domingo Diaz came to give the father rector, Antonio Jaramillo, a copy of a petition by the Augustinians; the father rector, before he knew that the said Domingo Diaz had come, had made, *in scriptis* [*i.e.*, in writing], his

[41] "An altar raised in churches on Holy Thursday to resemble a sepulchre" (Velázquez).

protest of incompetency of the judge, and of challenge and appeal.

On the twenty-third of April, the father procurator, Antonio de Borja, sent to the archbishop a document in which was set forth in due form the said protest, challenge, and appeal. He also presented to the governor a petition that he would give proper attention to the disturbance which the Society had suffered, and the injury inflicted on the royal patronage.

On the twenty-eighth of April, Domingo Diaz came again to give Father Borja a copy of another petition from the Augustinians, who said that the challenge and appeal which he had interposed were of no force.

On the fourth of May, they brought Captain Mateo Perea under arrest from the Lake [of Bay], and left him in his own house with guards. On the sixth of May, Domingo Diaz came to make known to Father Borja an act of the archbishop – who declaring that there was no occasion for the challenge and appeal interposed, commanded that the parties should make their complaint; and that within six days the documents for the sentence should be brought to his illustrious Lordship. On the tenth of May, Father Antonio Borja presented before the royal Audiencia a plea of fuerza, in order that he might make known the injury which the archbishop had done to the Society and the royal patronage.

On the fourteenth of May, Domingo Diaz came to summon for the sentence of the archbishop the father rector, Pedro de Oriol,[42] who replied that he

[42] Pedro de Oriol was born at Urgel in Cataluña, August 15, 1639; at the age of nineteen he entered the Jesuit novitiate, and

did not regard himself as summoned, or acknowledge his illustrious Lordship as a competent judge. On the same day, the fourteenth, Licentiate Don Antonio Roberto was brought a prisoner from Marinduque; and they placed him in the provisor's house, with a pair of very heavy fetters.

On the fifteenth of May, the father rector, Pedro de Oriol, presented a petition to the governor, asking him to issue a juridical testimony of his recourse [to the Audiencia] with a plea of fuerza; and that notification be sent to the archbishop that his illustrious Lordship must not take any further action until the royal court should decide what must be done.

On the seventeenth of May, Domingo Diaz came to make known the sentence of the archbishop, which declared that the Augustinians were the lawful parish priests of Mariquina, and that the sacraments administered by the fathers of the Society since October 12, 1686, had no force. The reply to all was, [that such proceeding was] null, and contrary to law. On the nineteenth of May, Father Borja came before the royal court a second time with a plea of fuerza. On the twentieth of May, the royal court resolved to issue a royal decree to the archbishop, commanding him to deliver up the documents in the Mariquina lawsuit.

On the twenty-third of May, they arrested the dean, Don Miguel Ortiz de Cobarrubias, by order

in 1663 joined the Philippine mission. "He was two years rector of Bohol, three of Zebu, and two of Yloylo; seven years vice-provincial, and twice filled that office for Pintados; was two years rector of Cavite, and one year vice-rector of the college of Manila, where also he was minister; and, being chosen provincial, would not accept that office." He died September 27, 1705. (Murillo Velarde, fol. 389 b-393.)

of the archbishop; they placed him in the provisor's house, and seized his goods. At the end of May, they carried the two auditors, and soon afterward Don Juan de Zalaeta and Don Miguel de Lezama, to Cagayan, as exiles; and they were placed one in each of the four garrisons that are maintained in the said province.

On the third of June, a notary came from the archbishop with a petition from the Augustinians, who were asking his illustrious Lordship to confirm the sentence that he had pronounced. Father Borja made a reply, more than two sheets in length.

On the fifth of June, a royal decree was made known to the archbishop that he must exhibit the documents in the Mariquina lawsuit, and his illustrious Lordship said that he would reply and would send the papers – which were in regard to the value of the sacraments.

On the eighth of June the archbishop held a consultation with the royal Audiencia, asking its aid to arrest and punish Fathers Diego de Ayala and Pedro Cano.[43] Up to today, June 24, the archbishop has not exhibited the documents in the Mariquina lawsuit.

News of this year of 1688 and part of the last one, with an appendix of other points

1. The ship "Santo Niño" which sailed from Cavite last year, 1687, put back to the port of Baga-

[43] Pedro Cano was born in the archbishopric of Toledo, on February 22, 1649. In 1670 he entered the Jesuit order at Sevilla, in order to join the province of Filipinas, where he arrived in the following year. He was procurator of the college, and of the province. Being appointed procurator for Madrid and Rome, he died while on the voyage thither, near Acapulco, December 18, 1692. (Murillo Velarde, fol. 369.)

tao, to the grief of everyone – not only on account of the deterioration of property and the very considerable damages, but also this greatly delayed the remedy which is needed by the public calamities and the oppression under which this colony lies. The ship's return to port is attributed to the excessive lading which it carried, to careless arrangements and lack of proper outfit, and to the undue timidity of those who had charge of the vessel.

2. The Recollect fathers made a raid through the lands of Silang, which they call Alipaopao, Oyaye, Malinta, etc.; and, trying to adjudge them to the ranch of Sarmiento, which they had recently bought through the agency of General Endaya, they committed unheard-of atrocities in the houses and grain-fields of the Indians – burning and ravaging them as furiously and horribly as if an army of Camucones had raided them. The Indians lost, as appears from a juridical statement that was drawn up, more than three thousand pesos.

3. A Dominican friar in Cagayan refused to absolve a Spaniard at the hour of death, in spite of all his entreaties for absolution. Although the friar had begun to hear his confession, the dying man could not proceed with it, being stopped by the nausea which comes at death, and he therefore died without absolution. I do not know all the circumstances in this case.

4. Another friar in the same province refused to absolve Auditor Don Diego de Viga, unless he would first express I know not what protestations and detestations. The auditor replied that, for what concerned the banishment of the archbishop, his conscience had not given him any uneasiness, because

he had understood that he acted in regard to it in accordance with the laws and decrees of our king, a sovereign so Catholic as is that of España; and that in affairs in which he had felt scruples, and had proceeded according to human judgment, there was nothing for which to employ the friar's zeal, and still less occasion for his trying to have him make those detestations and protestations. Nevertheless, the friar persisted [*se estuvó en sus trece*] in refusing to absolve him; and Don Diego, embracing the holy Christ and uttering fervent acts of contrition, said that he appealed to the mercy of God, and thus he died. He was buried in consecrated ground, although afterward, it is reported, the archbishop sent orders that his bones should be disinterred, and removed from consecrated ground.

5. Doña Josefa de la Cerda, the wife of Auditor Bolivar, died [44] in her exile, from anxiety and grief and despair. She asked for a confessor from the Society, which was not granted to her. The Dominican friar who served as parish priest in the village where she was an exile refused to absolve her unless she would comply with certain conditions, with which those fathers are wont to fetter and hinder souls. She was not minded to comply with these, or to make her confession to a religious of that order; and while a Franciscan who had been granted to her was on his way, she died. They spread the report that she had died impenitent, and buried her on the seashore.

6. The archbishop, since he came back from his exile, has not ceased to wage war on this city. He demanded aid for arresting the religious of the seraph-

[44] On September 28, 1687 (Diaz, p. 788).

ic father St. Francis, who preached in favor of the royal patronage; *item*, for arresting those who were ministering in Mariquina, the fathers of the Society; *item*, for seizing Father Cano; and all these acts proceed from the fury and partiality of Father Verart.

7. The bishop of Sinopolis died, and orders were given that he be buried in [the church of] the Society of Jesus. This the archbishop and his friars took so ill that the latter refused to go to his funeral and burial, to the surprise and scandal of the whole city; and the archbishop prevented the cabildo from paying the last honors to the bishop in the church of the said order, declaring that it was polluted by [containing] the remains of Señor Grimaldos, who in the opinion of the said fathers died excommunicate.

8. The archbishop forcibly took from the fathers of the Society the administration of the village of Cainta and Jesus de la Peña, and gave it to the Augustinian fathers – thus revenging himself on those of the Society, whom he regarded as enemies; and for this cause he commanded them to tear down their buildings at Jesus de la Peña, to the foundations – the governor aiding him in this atrocious act, contrary to the laws and privileges of the royal patronage.

Appendix

1. The goods which the governor shipped as contraband, of which the accountant made a written statement, are two hundred and thirty-five packages.

2. The vessels which Endaya has built, with the authority that he possesses, are two pataches and a champan.

3. The amount which the governor received from the Marques de la Laguna, at Santa Rosa, was one hundred thousand pesos.

4. What the governor did with Blas Rodriguez [45] on account of the quantity of gold taels which he gave him.

5. Of the Dominican friar who went to look at the bulls of Don Fernando, that he might enter as a Franciscan.

6. How not even this gentleman has escaped from the anger of the archbishop and Verart.

7. Of the inundation in Cagayan; of the locusts, famine, earthquakes, and drouths; of disturbances, etc.[46]

8. Of the rosary entirely made of silver coins,[47] one hundred and fifty thousand in number, which, it is said, the blessed Dominican fathers gave to the governor.

9. Of the imprisonment of Roberto; and why

[45] This man held the office of sargento-mayor, and had been (before 1683) alcalde-mayor of Cagayán.

[46] In 1687 "there was an increase in the calamities of the country, which suffered great scarcity of provisions on account of the grain-fields having been ruined by the heavy and constant rains which fell – which injured the salt springs even more, so that a half-fanega of salt, which usually is worth two or three reals, reached the price of twelve pesos. In La Estacada there was a great conflagration on Good Friday, in the night, which destroyed many houses. In the following year the scarcity of food was increased by a plague of locusts, which swept away all [vegetation]; and a caban of rice came to be worth twenty and twenty-four reals. But what caused the most suffering was the havoc made by the catarrh, in the year 1687-88; it was a sort of epidemic sickness, which killed many persons, especially children and the aged; and so many were sick that they could hardly cultivate the fields, or do other things necessary for human life." (Murillo Velarde, fol. 345 b, 346.)

[47] Spanish *patacones*; "a silver coin weighing one onza, and current in Batavia, Brazil, and Turkey." (Dominguez).

and how the provisor went, with great clatter of weapons and constables, to arrest a brother of the Society.

10. How Father Pedroche, who had been banished from these islands, escaped from Acapulco, and came back dressed as a Recollect.

11. Of the Dominican friar who killed another in Cagayan.[48]

[48] These seem to be memoranda intended by the writer of this document to be expanded and written out in detail.

THE PARDO CONTROVERSY

Brief relation of events in the city of Manila, in the Filipinas Islands

The fiscal of the royal Audiencia of these islands, Licentiate Don Diego Viga, received two letters and an official report, with many depositions of witnesses, which were sent to him by the alcalde-mayor of the province of Ilocos.[49] These letters and documents were to the effect that by the continued residence of Bachelor Sebastian Arqueros de Robles, ecclesiastical head of the bishopric of Nueva Segovia, in the village of Vigan (which is the capital of the said province of Ilocos) – under the pretext of ministering *ad interim* to the natives of the village of Bangues,[50] which had for many years remained vacant – the natives were becoming uneasy and disturbed. This was hindering in the exercise of their duties not only the officers of justice, but also Licentiate Diego de Espinosa Marañón, the proprie-

[49] Diaz says (p. 752) that the alcalde-mayor of Ilocos was a personal friend of the cura Marañón; and that Banguet had remained vacant so long because it was a very poor living, and had an unwholesome climate. Arqueros de Robles was probably a son of the Lorenzo Arqueros so noted in the native insurrections of 1660-61.

[50] In the Ventura del Arco MSS. (iii, pp. 29, 30) this name appears as Benguet; and in Diaz's *Conquistas* (p. 752) as Banguet and Banget. The modern form is Bangued.

spect due to the archbishop and to his high office was forgotten; and that, in the investigations which were made for this purpose, inquiries were directed into the hidden faults of ecclesiastical persons, and attempt had been made to punish them with the first of the said decrees, without punishing the chief authors [of those evil acts], who were laymen. Moreover, decrees had been issued only against the ecclesiastical judge on account of their own hidden faults, or those of other persons, intimidating him therewith in order that he should not administer justice in future; and a satisfactory account ought to be given to the said archbishop of the reasons which had influenced this royal Audiencia to issue the decrees. After [the publication of] the royal and canonical decrees, the archbishop had a right to command the clerk of the court to give him the said copy; but for the sake of the quiet and comfort of this community, he had commanded him first to request the acts from this royal Audiencia, making the proper and necessary requisitions therefor, and asking that the said secretary of the Audiencia be ordered and commanded to give him the said copy."

As it was evident that the motives which existed for the despatch of the first royal decree were still further justified by such writings, the second was issued, which the said archbishop obeyed no better; on the contrary he said, in the reply that he made to this second royal decree, that he entreated the royal Audiencia to give little hope for aid to the ecclesiastics.[53]

[53] Alonzo Sandin, procurator-general for the Dominicans, wrote a long reply to Sanchez's account of the controversy between the Audiencia and Archbishop Pardo; therein he cites the latter's

The royal Audiencia, influenced by the report made to it by the fiscal, and considering the disrespectful and indecorous character of the attorney-general's communication, and that it was entirely directed against the reputation and equitable procedure of the supreme tribunal and its ministers, issued a royal decree that the archbishop should punish his attorney-general, and should be warned how much he had derogated from his own dignity by having allowed such lack of respect. To this the archbishop replied that the attorney-general did not deserve punishment, because the petition had been presented by his own order and mandate.

At this time the ecclesiastical cabildo presented themselves in recourse to the royal Audiencia, with a paper signed by their dean,[54] the dignitaries, the canons, and the other prebends, imploring the royal aid against the archbishop on account of the acts of fuerza and violence which were suffered by the cabildo, its members, and all the clergy.[55] They declared that the worst of these were due to the fact that the said archbishop had at his side a religious of the Order of St. Dominic, named Fray Ray-

reply, here alluded to, which makes clear this last sentence. Pardo asks the Audiencia to cease giving his clerics the aid of the royal court, since otherwise he cannot properly control them, or maintain the episcopal authority in due force.

[54] The dean then was Miguel Ortiz de Covarrubias; the archdeacon, Licentiate Francisco Deza.

[55] Diaz states (pp. 754, 755) that the cabildo were angry with the archbishop because he had separated from the curacy of Santiago (then held by Gregorio Diaz de Isla) the Spaniards who lived in Tondo, Binondo, Santa Cruz, and other places so far away that the cura could not properly fulfil his duties toward them, especially to the dying. The archbishop acted thus, however, with the approval of the governor and other officials.

mundo Verart;[56] that the archbishop had retained him, ever since he came from Spain, under the title of counselor [*asesor*] and director; that he had gained such influence that he directed all the actions of the said archbishop; and that his decisions were so extraordinary that he kept all minds in a state of notable disquiet – to such a degree that he even refused recourse from the acts of fuerza, endeavoring to render the jurisdiction of the archbishop absolute, and to exclude his Majesty (as represented in the Audiencia) from his highest prerogative, that of aid to his oppressed ecclesiastical vassals. They represented that the archbishop acted as an advocate in the very suits in which he was judge; that he lived outside the city, in a hospital of Sangleys[57] which is in charge of the religious of St. Dominic, from which resulted injury and delay in the despatch of business; that he could think of nothing but his friars, and behaved as one of them – for on the day of election of provincial he had rendered obedience to the father who was elected, and in the procession he walked in the fifth rank – regarding himself as first of all a friar, although he was archbishop-elect; and that he treated

[56] Raimundo Berart was a Catalan, and came from the Dominican convent at Barcelona. He was teaching law in the university of Lerida when he resolved to enter the Philippine mission; he arrived in 1679, when twenty-eight years old. He was vice-rector (1684-86) and rector (1686-89) of Santo Tomás; in 1689, it appears that he went to Spain, and in 1696 was in Mexico. Later, he was probably procurator of the Philippine province in Europe; and he died in Atocha, Spain, on April 13, 1713. See sketch of his career in *Reseña biográfica*, ii, pp. 195-206, where are copied several documents relating to him.

[57] Several of Pardo's decrees were dated "from our palace of San Gabriel" (the name of the hospital).

the cabildo and its members ill, showing aversion to them.

With this petition for relief the dean and cabildo presented a mass of records in proof of their argument, asking that decrees be issued: one for the archbishop, that he should remove from his side the said Fray Raymundo;[58] and another for the father provincial of St. Dominic, that he should send the said religious to the remote parts of the missions in charge of his order, agreeably to the purpose and vocation for which he had come to these islands at the cost of the royal exchequer.

In this matter both first and second decrees were issued for the said archbishop and the father provincial of St. Dominic, neither of whom was willing to render obedience, the archbishop returning some very uncivil answers.[59] Finally, the latter took exception to Doctor Don Diego Calderon, assigning as the cause of this proceeding his remarks about the ecclesiastical jurisdiction; he also challenged Don Diego Antonio de Viga [the fiscal] for the mode of expression which he had used in his writings. By this expedient the proceedings of the Audiencia were suspended, for lack of judges – for at that time

[58] A petition to this effect from the cabildo to the archbishop, dated April 10, 1681, is reproduced in *Reseña biográfica*, ii, pp. 196-198, followed by Pardo's "pastoral letter" in reply. The editor claims that Juan Gonzalez (afterward provisor of the see) signed the petition under compulsion.

[59] Diaz states (p. 755) that the archbishop replied that he would send Verart to Spain as his attorney, which would be sufficient to remove him from Manila; he informed the Audiencia that Verart had not only rendered him great service, but had reformed many abuses in the ecclesiastical courts. The Dominican provincial said that the Audiencia must show cause for Verart's removal, or he could do nothing; for Verart had been assigned to the post of associate to the archbishop.

it contained only the two gentlemen, Don Francisco de Montemayor and Don Diego Calderon – until Doctors Don Christoval de Grimaldo and Don Pedro Sebastian de Bolivar y Mena, the recently-arrived [auditors],[60] could examine the question of the said challenge. At the petition of Doctor Don Estevan Lorenço de la Fuente y Alanis, who also had just arrived, they declared that there was no cause for it; and without doubt it would result thus, since the challenge was not sworn to, or presented, in accordance with the regulations of the royal laws. They likewise commanded that the said archbishop be requested and charged to maintain in all things friendly relations with the [royal] ministers, not only in writing to them but in speech. When he was notified of this royal decree, he gave a very sharp answer, and concluded by saying that his own behavior would be governed in accordance with the actions of the ministers, as he thus tells them in all his replies.

This royal Audiencia, considering his insolent replies and disobedience to the royal decrees, and the scandals thus caused, and that the whole arose from the influence of Father Raymundo Verart, determined, for the more thorough justification and proof of the whole matter, that an investigation should be made by the auditor Don Pedro de Bolivar, with regard to the injuries and other pernicious consequences which were being caused to the public welfare, and which gave occasion to the complaint of the ecclesiastical cabildo about the assistance rendered to the archbishop by the said father Fray Ray-

[60] These men came in 1681. The last named, Fuente y Alanis, came as fiscal of the Audiencia.

mundo Verart – [all the more] as his illustrious Lordship had, before the said father came to these islands, conducted himself in entire harmony and most friendly intercourse with the royal Audiencia, the ecclesiastical cabildo, and the other courts. The affair being in this condition, the said father provincial, Fray Baltasar de Santa Cruz, was summoned before the royal [court in] session, where they related to him the pernicious consequences to the public welfare which were accruing from the said assistance [of Father Verart], and were steadily increasing on account of his acts of disobedience. The said provincial was admonished to the fulfilment and execution of what was charged upon him in the said two royal decrees, making him responsible for all the difficulties that might result; but he resisted them at every point, repeating his [former] replies. This bold attitude caused the Audiencia, on even more justifiable grounds, to despatch a third decree, which the said father provincial, Fray Baltasar de Santa Cruz, persisted in disobeying.

In the midst of these proceedings, another decree against the said archbishop was claimed and demanded by Bachelor Diego de Espinosa Marañón, saying that his Lordship had denied the just appeal that he had made from an act which entailed [on him] an irreparable hardship; and a royal decree was issued for him that the said archbishop must grant the said appeal; or, even if he were not obliged to grant it, his acts must be sent [to the Audiencia], in order to know whether he committed fuerza in denying the appeal.[61] The said archbishop did not

[61] Diaz states (pp. 752, 753) that Marañón came to Manila (but without permission to do so), a few days after Arqueros, to

obey this decree; before this, he had not, at the outset, consented to let a receptor of this royal Audiencia enter to make known to him one of its acts; and the matter was not followed up (although in this recourse they went so far as to despatch the second decree), for Bachelor Diego de Espinosa Marañón desisted from it, at the instance of certain persons.

To the above-mentioned changes and indispensable acts of assistance granted by this royal Audiencia, is added that which was secured by the illustrious bishop-elect of Nueva Segovia, Doctor Don Francisco Pizarro de Orellana, who came before the royal Audiencia, saying that the archbishop had, in the credentials which he had given to the bishop, reserved for his own cognizance the case of Bachelor Diego de Espinosa Marañón – although this was a trial in the first instance, and the said bachelor was under the bishop's parochial care and was cura of the benefice of Vigan, one of the parishes belonging to his bishopric. The said bishop requested a royal decree that the papers should be furnished to him by the said archbishop in the customary form, and that the said cases should be referred to him. In this affair they went so far as to issue the fourth royal decree; but the said archbishop did not obey one of them.[62]

complain of the latter to the archbishop. The latter demanded an account of Arqueros's proceedings in the case; Arqueros presented documents which proved, by the complaints of many Indians, that Marañón deserved punishment. The archbishop therefore sustained Arqueros, and ordered Marañón's arrest.

[62] According to Diaz (p. 756), Pardo answered that he had reserved Marañón's case as being the metropolitan, and because the cura's offenses had been committed in the territory of the archbishopric; moreover, that the parties in this case had accepted his jurisdiction. Finally, "to avoid controversies he offered to

The same resistance was encountered by four other royal decrees issued against the said archbishop, at the demand, and appeal from fuerza, interposed by Master Don Geronimo de Herrera y Figueroa, cantor of this holy cathedral church. He was a prisoner of the said archbishop in the college of Santo Tomás of this city, an indictment having been brought against him, charging him with being guilty of disrespect for the archiepiscopal dignity, and having at the session of the cabildo concurred in their demand for relief,[63] of which mention has been made – that the said archbishop should remove from his side Fray Raymundo Verart, and the rest that is stated above. The said Master Don Geronimo had alleged that the said archbishop was not competent to act as judge, of which exception he had notified the prelate; but the latter without settling this question – which, as pre-judicial,[64] ought to have been summarily decided – proceeded in the case. Even if he were a competent judge, he ought to proceed with the adjunct judges,[65] as ordained by the holy Council of

surrender to the bishop-elect the person of Licentiate Diego Espinosa Marañón – which the bishop did not accept; but afterward, without telling the archbishop, he sent Marañón to his curacy of Vigan, removing him from his prison-bounds of the city [of Manila]."

[63] Diaz says (p. 757) that Pardo informed the Audiencia that he had not punished Herrera for these reasons, but because the latter, in his quarrel with Archbishop López, had treated that prelate with insolence and even posted him as excommunicate (Diaz, p. 705); and when afterward he had been treated with great kindness by Pardo, he had conspired with the cabildo against him.

[64] *i.e.*, Requiring a previous judicial decision before the final sentence (Velázquez's *Dictionary*, Appleton's ed., 1901).

[65] *Adjuntos*: "a body of judges commissioned or appointed jointly to try a cause" (Velázquez). Pardo claimed that the cabildo of Manila was not an exempted one (*i.e.*, from submission

Trent; but, [not] heeding these considerations, the said archbishop proceeded with fuerza and violence, which he wreaked on Don Geronimo's person. This case was decidedly within the cognizance of this royal Audiencia, and to its organization and civil jurisdiction belongs the removal of the fuerza with which the prelate had oppressed Don Geronimo. Upon this ground they issued the said four decrees, to attain their object, in order that the said archbishop should send them the acts, so that it might be ascertained whether or not he had committed fuerza, or else should send these with his notary; but he refused to obey the decrees.

The royal Audiencia, striving, in whatever pertained to its side, to avoid inflicting the chastisement which his actions demanded, in order to see whether their tolerance would constrain him to lay aside his arbitrary proceedings, had suspended, with the clause "for the present," the execution of the penalties of banishment which he was declared to have incurred.[66] This suspension had been attributed to negligence of the Audiencia – at which all the people were quite disconsolate; afterward it was known that the court had not acted without very deliberate resolution, which had been influenced no little by the zealous efforts of the governor; when all were hoping for a change in the sentiments of the archbishop, the courage of the auditors was still further strengthened. For the Order of the Society [of

to the ordinary), and therefore its members did not enjoy the privilege of the adjunct judges (Diaz, p. 757).

[66] "And these two suits, of the bishop and the cantor, were the ones which influenced the auditors to [decide upon] his banishment, which was decreed on the first of October [1682]." (Murillo Velarde, *Hist. de Philipinas*, fol. 342 b.)

Jesus] presented an executory decree, issued by the royal and supreme Council of Indias, in regard to the precedence of the college of San Joseph over that of Santo Tomas, which is in charge of the Dominican religious – in which matter the Society has encountered much opposition from that order; they have even gone so far as to break out in threats, which the Society has seen carried out. But immediately the ecclesiastical attorney-general, with license from the archbishop (who had made legal complaint), demanded in the royal Audiencia aid and the proper documents against the decree,[67] in order that the commander of the capitana "Santa Rosa" – which had just put back through stress of weather, and had not yet reached the port – might be furnished with a warrant for the seizure of the bales [of merchandise] which, he said, were coming in the said ship on the account of the Society of Jesus. At the same time the reverend Father Francisco Salgado, provincial of the said order of the Society, came before the said royal Audiencia with a plea of appeal, on account of which the said archbishop instituted suit against that father's order, opposing the numerous privileges and bulls of exemption which aid it. While these actions were pending, and before anything had been decided in them, the said father provincial made representations that, notwithstanding the said questions were still (as I have said) unsettled, he was informed that a notary of the said archbishop had gone to the said ship on various

[67] There is an apparent omission here, as the decree previously cited referred to the priority of San José college over that of Santo Tomás; the reference here would seem to indicate another decree, in regard to privileges and exemptions allowed to the Jesuits in regard to trading.

matters of business, thus showing lack of respect to this royal Audiencia. He urged that documents should be issued, in order that no further proceedings be taken in this matter, and that the commander of the ship should not permit [the seizure of goods] until the points at issue were settled. But, although these decrees were issued, they produced no result; for, as is evident from competent testimony, the agents of the archbishop went to the said ship, on the day following that on which the attorney-general had demanded aid, and, without presenting any warrant to the commander, had undertaken and proceeded to make seizures and deposits of bales.[68] This affair was not finally decided, because it was known outside of court that the archbishop had relinquished his claims therein.[69]

In this royal Audiencia a suit was pending for a long time between Captain Don Pedro de Sarmiento y Leoz, as husband of Doña Michaela de Lisa-

[68] Salazar states (*Hist. Sant. Rosario*, p. 235) that this action was taken because "certain persons were greatly devoted to trading, in contravention of the pontifical decrees, and especially of the recent constitution of Clement IX – the said enactment giving the ordinary full authority to proceed against the transgressors, seize their goods and property, and apply these to hospitals and other pious purposes." Accordingly, Archbishop Pardo instituted a secret investigation, conducted by his notary, who threatened major excommunication (by a decree affixed to the ship's mast) for any person who refused to tell what he might know about the aforesaid trading. Abundant proof was found, and the goods were seized. It is said that there were one hundred and fifty bales belonging to the Jesuits.

[69] Probably in view of the arguments adduced by Concepción (*Hist. de Philipinas*, viii, pp. 41-43), showing that the decree of Clement IX forbade trade to all ecclesiastics, but did not authorize the ordinary to inflict penalties therefor on the members of the religious orders, that being reserved to their own superiors – the ordinary, in such cases, being empowered only to apply the confiscated goods for pious purposes.

rralde[70] – daughter of Don Juan de Lisarralde, and great-granddaughter of Doña Maria de Roa, deceased, who had been executrix for the said Don Juan de Lisarralde, and guardian of the said Doña Michaela – against Father Geronimo de Ortega of the Society of Jesus (who had been executor[71] for Bachelor Nicolás Cordero, and is executor for the said Doña Maria de Roa), over the guardianship and inheritance which belonged to the said Doña Michaela, and the account which had been demanded for all the above affairs. The said father, in conformity with the acts which had been made known to him in this regard, presented the accounts in the royal Audiencia, after the appointment, acceptance, and oath-taking of auditors therefor. This suit, as stated, lasted a long time,[72] and in it came up revised acts of the said royal Audiencia ordering that all who were interested in the said executorships should prefer their claims in the said royal Audiencia. The affair being in this condition, the said captain Don Pedro Sarmiento – urged on by Licentiate Nicolàs

[70] Murillo Velarde and Concepción give this name as Pizarraldi; and Diaz makes it Lizarraldi.

[71] In the Dominican chapter-session of 1673, it was enacted that no religious of that order should become executor of a deceased person's estate, or undertake the charge of his last will. This was to prevent risk of accusations against the friars, so general was the dishonest administration of executorships in Manila – so much so that it occasioned no surprise in the minds of the people, although all complained of the grievances thus caused. "There are few fortunes which have not some executorship as the foundation." See Salazar's *Hist. Sant. Rosario* (Manila, 1742), p. 43.

[72] It had begun in 1672, in the time of Archbishop López, under whom judgment was rendered in favor of Sarmiento; but López's death in 1674 prevented the execution of the sentence. Various delays ensued, and Cordero died, being succeeded by Ortega as executor. (Salazar, *Hist. Sant. Rosario*, p. 236.)

de la Vega Caraballo,[73] an ally of the archbishop – demanded before the said archbishop that the said Father Ortega should be commanded, under penalty of censure, to furnish him the said accounts. This command was laid upon him by repeated acts; nevertheless, the said father refused [the ecclesiastical] jurisdiction, since he had [the case] in a competent tribunal, pending judgment, and the said accounts had been presented – in proof of which he presented sworn statements to the said archbishop. Nevertheless, the latter persisted in ordering the said father to give him the said accounts – even going so far as to denounce him as excommunicated. The ground for this action was, that in the ecclesiastical court demand had been made by the said Don Pedro for the surrender of the bequest[74] to the said Archdeacon Cordero. Father Ortega made appeal in the proper quarter from this censure, but the archbishop refused to allow the said appeal; from this arose the recourse to royal aid from the act of fuerza in having denied to the father the said appeal and attempted to compel him to what he had no right to do – the surrender of the said accounts, which had already been presented in the said royal Audiencia.[75] On that account, and because of the very nature of the case, it was wholly within the cognizance of the royal Audiencia, and concerned laymen. For this

[73] Also written Carballo, Carvallo, and Caballero.

[74] Spanish *dote*, usually meaning "dowry;" but as the ecclesiastic Cordero was the legatee of Doña Maria de Roa (Montero y Vidal, i, p. 368), the word evidently means the bequest to him, perhaps for the pious purposes mentioned later in this document.

[75] See Concepción's account of this affair (*Hist. de Philipinas*, viii, pp. 45-50), in considerable detail; he states that he presents it thus in order to vindicate the course of the Audiencia, and that Pardo in some of his acts exceeded his jurisdiction.

reason, the usual royal decree was issued, in order that the notary should come to make report. This being made known to the archbishop, he made a very prolix reply, taking the ground, in very disrespectful language, that the appeal was not legitimate, and that he was not obliged to send the documents; but saying that, upon the necessary declarations, and with the stipulation that the acts should not pass into the possession of any official of the Audiencia, but must remain in the hands of his own notary, he would give orders that the latter should go to make the report, whenever the Audiencia should command it, but he must refuse to absolve the said father. The Audiencia, in order to avoid new occasions for controversy with this prelate, overlooked his imposing upon it a condition, and one which was so unusual. Domingo Diaz [76] having made the report, and noted in the course of it two false assertions – which he discovered while inspecting the acts, having read them through – the said notary went away, carrying them with him, without waiting for the opinion and decision of the said royal Audiencia on them to be affirmed. That tribunal declared the said suit,[77] and the cognizance of it, as it concerned laymen, to be altogether secular – as were also questions of guardianship, inheritance, the charge of property, dowries, and other matters of that nature; and that, by virtue of this, all [episcopal] acts regarding these questions be suspended in this royal Audiencia. As for the

[76] Diaz was a priest, and secretary of the archbishopric.

[77] See accounts of this affair in Diaz's *Conquistas*, pp. 758, 759; Murillo Velarde's *Hist. de Philipinas*, fol. 342 b, 343; Concepción, cited *supra*; Salazar's *Hist. Sant. Rosario*, pp. 236, 237.

pious legacies contained in the said testaments, the archbishop was declared to have committed fuerza in not granting to Father Ortega the appeal which he had interposed before the delegate of his Holiness; and the Audiencia resolved that, in consequence of all the above facts, the prelate should absolve the said father, and immediately remove his name from the list of excommunicated persons, and that a royal decree [to this effect] be issued in his behalf. When this was made known to the archbishop, he gave an extremely insolent and uncivil reply, opposing the authority of this royal Audiencia, the royal jurisdiction, the governor, and the auditors. He refused to send the acts [to the Audiencia], or to absolve the said father, and declared in plain terms that he would persist in this opposition, and that the Audiencia might therefore inflict whatever violence they chose on him and his dignity.

Another instance: Sargentó-mayor Don Juan Gallardo – who was chief magistrate, castellan, and commander of the seamen and sailors, in the port of Cavite (the most important port in these islands, and its command one of the highest military posts) – had a prisoner, an artillerist named Lorenço Magno.[78] The said archbishop sent him a letter of requisition, demanding that Don Juan hand over to him the said prisoner and the suit that had been brought against him; or that he should declare under oath whether or not that suit was in his hands. In this letter of requisition the archbishop did not state the cause for which his illustrious Lordship said he

[78] A mestizo, who, to escape the punishment that awaited him, was denounced (at his own instance) to the archbishop as a bigamist, so that the latter might claim the case within his own jurisdiction, and the prisoner thus escape civil penalties.

had accused the aforesaid [prisoner, which was] bigamy. The said castellan, moreover, noticed in it certain imperative expressions and the archbishop addressed him as *vos* [*i.e.*, "you"],[79] in the manner which is customary in the royal decrees. The said castellan sent the prisoner to the archbishop, who issued another letter of requisition, in the same form as the preceding, at the petition of Francisca Ignacia, wife of the said Lorenço Magno – against whom, it was declared, he was carrying on a suit for divorce – demanding that immediately, without any delay, under penalty of excommunication and a fine of five hundred pesos, the said castellan should within three hours deliver to the notary a certified statement of the suit which he had instituted against the said Lorenço Magno. The castellan came before the royal Audiencia with his deposition regarding these two letters of requisition, demanding that the said archbishop be requested and charged to observe, in the communications that he might send to the judicial officers of his Majesty, the forms ordained by law, treating the magistrates with the courtesy due to their position. These acts having been considered in the Audiencia, a royal decree was despatched requiring that the said archbishop must, in the requisitions which he might send to the royal magistrates, treat them with due politeness, conforming to the forms of law and usage – not using imperative terms, or the word *vos*. When the arch-

[79] Diaz says (*Conquistas*, p. 760): "Where the letter of requisition says, 'For doing otherwise, you will be excommunicated,' the Audiencia desired it to say, 'Your Grace will be excommunicated.'" Salazar says (p. 237) that the castellan felt insulted at this, as only the governor and the Audiencia had the right to use such terms to him.

bishop was notified of this royal decree, he gave an answer full of uncivil, improper, and disrespectful expressions against the royal jurisdiction, the governor, and the auditors. The latter had issued an act that Doctor Don Joseph Zervantes and Master Nicolas de la Vega Caravallo should not meddle with the profession of advocate, into which they had thrust themselves – from which resulted consequences pernicious to the public welfare, since they had not taken the courses of study in the school of law. When notified of the act, they replied that the archbishop had already ordered them not to plead in secular tribunals, and the said Caravallo added that he was the only one who could issue such commands. On the following day the archbishop issued an act in opposition to that of the Audiencia, commanding that no petitions should be accepted in his court that were not signed by the said Doctor Zervantes and Master Caravallo. The fiscal, when all the replies had been shown to him, demanded that, without giving opportunity for any further acts of disobedience or disrespect, they should execute upon the person of the reverend archbishop the penalties which he had been declared to have incurred – banishment, and the loss of his secular revenues [*temporalidades*]; and that, for this purpose, the clause "for the present," contained in the act of October 1 in the past year of 82, be revoked and erased, and the act put into execution on May 1 of the said year [*i.e.*, 1683]. These acts having been considered by the royal Audiencia with the attention and mature deliberation which so grave a matter demanded, it was decided that sentence of banishment should be executed on the archbishop, and that he should be sent to the

village of Lingayen, in the province of Pangasinan, a village of Christian Indians in charge of the Dominican religious. This charge was committed to Doctor Don Christòval Grimaldo de Herrera and Sargento-mayor Juan de Veristain, alcalde-in-ordinary, who fulfilled it with the utmost discretion, quietness, and moderation;[80] and the archbishop was embarked in a barcoluengo, in which the forethought of the governor had provided all his kitchen equipment, with everything else that was necessary for his support and the needs of the voyage.[81]

The royal Audiencia had proceeded very cautiously, for, foreseeing the tumults or disturbances that are wont to arise on such occasions, and endeavoring to avoid whatever could serve as an incentive thereto, they recognized that the ringing of the bells in making any demonstrations might act as such incentive; and they asked the governor to command that guards be posted in the bell-tower of the church, and in the house of Master Juan Gonçalez de Guzman, the provisor, so that the latter could not order any demonstration to be made while the sentence of

[80] Diaz relates this affair in detail (p. 761), and says that the soldiers broke open the windows and doors of the hospital (where the archbishop then was) to obtain entrance; also that the decree of banishment gave the alternative of the Babuyanes Islands, or Cagayán, or Pangasinán as his place of exile. Diaz cites (p. 762), this sentence in Sanchez's account, as proof that the latter could not have written it, since he took part in the arrest of Pardo.

[81] According to Diaz (p. 762), the governor had given money for the expenses of this voyage, but on reaching Mariveles no provisions of any sort could be found; and the archbishop would have had no food if a Dominican friar who happened to be there had not quickly gone back to Manila to procure supplies for the prelate, and returned at midnight with them to Mariveles. Diaz says that this friar was not allowed even then to go aboard the vessel in which Pardo had embarked, or to exchange any word with him.

banishment was being executed. On the same day when this was done, the royal Audiencia sent a decree to the cabildo, ordering that they should conduct themselves in all respects amicably with the royal Audiencia and the other royal officials, not allowing any acts of violence to be inflicted on the vassals of his Majesty, or hindering them from appealing to the Audiencia in cases of fuerza. The cabildo were also warned not to accept any documents of appointment from the ruler of the archbishopric, or allow him to exercise jurisdiction, until the person appointed should present himself before the royal court, where he must take the customary oath. To this decree the cabildo rendered obedience; and, the very illustrious master Don Fray Ximenez Barrientos, bishop of Troya and assistant bishop of these islands, having presented himself before the cabildo with the appointment of ruler [of the archdiocese] – which the archbishop had conferred upon him on the twenty-seventh of March, when the said archbishop was already declared an exile – he was referred by the cabildo to the Audiencia. Being present there, his appointment was, in consequence of the demand made by the fiscal that license should not be granted to him, suspended in that court, for weighty reasons there presented, and it was referred to the Council, in order that his Majesty might decide according to his pleasure; and [it was declared that] in the interim the cabildo should govern the archdiocese.[82] And here it occurs to me to remark, parenthetically, that, although the secrets and the justifiable motives of the Audiencia are in-

[82] Spanish, *vsasse de su derecho* – literally, "exercise its right," *i.e.*, to govern the vacant see.

scrutable, we may regard it as probable that their principal reason for this action was their knowledge of the fact that this bishop, a few days after arriving in this city, had preached in the convent of Santo Domingo, on the day of the naval battle,[83] and the entire tendency of his sermon was to disparage the royal jurisdiction and rebuke those who would appeal to it. He said that this entire city was a university of vices, although of that he could have had no experience; and it was he who had exerted most influence on the actions of the archbishop, over and over again strengthening him in acts of disobedience [to the secular government]. The cabildo, since the Audiencia had not accepted the said bishop as ecclesiastical ruler, declared that the see was vacant by interpretation [of that act]; and the bishop of Troya replied that they could not have sent him better news, as he did not desire to take charge of other men's flocks. Thereupon he immediately went back to the convent of San Juan del Monte, outside the walls of this city;[84] and on the following day a Dominican

[83] Diaz calls this (p. 764) "the principal fiesta of the Dominicans" in Manila. Santa Cruz (*Hist. Sant. Rosario*, p. 106) says that every year, when the eight days' fiesta in honor of the Virgin of the Rosary is celebrated in their convent, the eighth day is devoted to thanksgiving to Mary for the victories won by the Spaniards over the Dutch in 1646 (see our VOL. XXXV), which were attributed by the people to her miraculous aid. That fiesta of eight days was apparently instituted in 1637, to celebrate the dissolution of Collado's new congregation in Filipinas (see Santa Cruz, *ut supra*, p. 4; and our VOL. XXIX, pp. 25-27).

[84] "The bishop of Troya, knowing well that the true spiritual jurisdiction resided in himself by the appointment of the archbishop, sent a Dominican religious to the convents to inform on his part their superiors that he gave, to those confessors whom the said superiors should choose, his own authority and right, so that they could absolve those persons who by command or compulsion had taken part in the arrest of the archbishop from the excom-

religious set out to stir up the other religious orders (except the Society), that after sunset prayers they should ring the bells for an interdict. This was done by [the convent of] Santo Domingo.[85] [He also told them] that Master Juan Gonçalez de Guzmàn, provisor of the said archbishop, would post as excommunicated the dean, Master Don Miguel Ortiz de Cobarrubias, whom the cabildo had appointed ecclesiastical ruler. At this, the dean asked the governor for the aid of some infantry, to go to the convent of Santo Domingo, to which the said master had retreated, to remove him thence. This was granted; but, on going to the said convent, they encountered much opposition to their entrance, on the part of the religious. The dean was so insolently treated by them that he was obliged, in order to prevent greater troubles, to return and inform the governor and the royal Audiencia, then in session. That court issued a royal decree to notify the superiors of the religious

munication which they might have thus incurred – excepting the principal offenders – until he should be restored to liberty and they should perform public penance and give juratory security, as is ordained by the sacred canons." (Diaz, *Conquistas*, p. 764.)

[85] The interdict was not only an ecclesiastical censure, but a penalty, entailing usually privation of certain sacraments (save in cases of strict necessity), of all the divine offices, and of church burial. All solemnities and public festivals were suspended, except on the five great feasts of Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, the Assumption of our Lady, and Corpus Christi. The churches remained closed, the crucifix and statues veiled, the bells and organ mute. This penalty might be general, over the whole city, kingdom, or country; or merely particular, inflicted on a named corporation, see, church, or the like; again, it might be either local or personal as to its effects. It might be imposed not only by a pope, but by any competent church prelate, even by a bishop; and could apply to any secular or ecclesiastical ruler (except of course the pope), to a university or college, or to any body of clergy, regular or secular. The earliest mention of a church interdict apparently is Ferraris's allusion to one in the fourth century, of which, how-

orders that in publishing an interdict[86] they must follow the metropolitan church [*matriz*]; and thus was prevented a great scandal, disturbance, and popular commotion in this city – in which, since the said sentence of banishment was carried out, the utmost peace has been experienced, nor has there occurred the slightest disturbance.

ever, no details are available. In Frankish chronicles, interdicts date from the sixth century, the first of these being at Rouen, in 588; Bishop Prætextatus having been murdered, by order of Queen Fredegonda, while officiating in his own church, the senior suffragan of that province, Leudovald of Bayeux, after consultation with his fellow-bishops, laid all the churches of Rouen under interdict until the assassin of the bishop should be discovered. But prior to the eleventh century general interdicts are but rarely mentioned in church history. It does not appear that there was any ritual for either general or particular interdicts, apart from the usually concomitant sentence of excommunication – which in former ages itself entailed also interdict on the persons or places named in the decree of penalty. The interdict was usually laid under conditions that amendment, reparation, or restitution should atone for the wrong done, at which the interdict would be lifted. According to present church law, bishops are empowered, as delegates of the Holy See, to put under interdict particular churches, and the like. See Moroni's *Dizionario* (Venezia, 1845), xxxvi, p. 49; Ferraris's *Bibliotheca* (Paris, 1853), article "Interdictum;" Guerin, *Les Petits Bollandistes* (Paris, 1878), iv, pp. 378-382; and Addis and Arnold's *Catholic Dictionary*, article "Interdict." – Rev. T. C. Middleton, O.S.A.

[86] Diaz states (*ut supra*) that the archbishop's provisor, Juan Gonzalez, took refuge in the Dominican convent, which was soon surrounded with armed soldiers. At the advice of friends, Gonzalez gave himself up, and was kept a close prisoner in his own house – "guards being placed there at his cost; and penalty was imposed of major excommunication and 500 pesos, if he should talk with any person outside." As soon as Santo Domingo was blockaded, a decree of the Audiencia was made known to all the convents that they must not ring the bells for an interdict. To prevent this being done at Santo Domingo, "they scaled the convent through the hall of the Inquisition, which is above the main entrance, and ten soldiers went up to the bell-tower." Next day, the friars rang a small bell to call the people to mass, but the guards would not allow any person to enter the church.

I must not omit, since it is a part of this account, the following information: On Epiphany [*dia de Reyes*; in 1682] while the royal Audiencia were present in the holy cathedral church, a sermon was preached there by father Fray Francisco de Villalva, a Dominican religious, whose language was insolent in the highest degree. He spoke openly and expressly against the governor, the auditors, and the ecclesiastical cabildo (which he pointed out as the source of disturbances in the community), saying to the archbishop: "Let not your illustrious Lordship concern himself with the secular revenues; look to God [for maintenance]." He tried to disparage the royal jurisdiction, and rebuked appeals to the Audiencia – saying so much that he gave cause for that tribunal to send by its chaplain a message to the archbishop, asking him to order the preacher to cease. His illustrious Lordship replied that the preacher was doing his duty, and the latter, in the face of these demonstrations, went on with the sermon even to the end. Afterward, by order of the court, the auditor Don Pedro de Bolivar put the said father on a ship, to be taken to the province of Cadbalogan – in which he must remain until the opportunity should arrive, by the departure of a ship [from Manila], for him to embark for Madrid, whither the acts were to be sent. This was carried out, and, although the ship was driven back to port, he is now going on board the capitana.[87] May God

[87] Salazar gives a detailed account of Villalba's imprisonment (*Hist. Sant. Rosario*, pp. 233, 234), and claims that he was hurried from his convent at Binondoc, without cloak or hat, or bed, although he was in poor health; and that, when the ship was compelled to put back to Manila, the Audiencia would not allow him to remain there, but at once despatched him to the Franciscan in-

conduct these affairs for our good, and preserve your Grace[88] for many years. Manila, June 15, 1683.

JUAN SANCHEZ

A curious relation of events in the city of Manila since the arrival of the ships in the year 1684.

On the ninth of July the bells were rung for the [arrival of the] ship "Santa Rosa," with certain news that it was opposite Baco, and had brought the new governor, Admiral Don Gabriel de Curucelaegui y Arriola – who, on account of the fury of the storms, would not be able to make his entrance into this city until August 24. [On that occasion] he was received with loud applause, triumphal arches, and laudatory speeches. On that day occurred some memorable events. At five o'clock in the morning there was a severe earthquake, although it caused but little damage to the city. In the afternoon, while his Lordship, before entering through the Puerta Real, was taking the customary oath in order that the keys might be delivered to him, the horse of his Majesty's fiscal became unruly, and attacked those who were near him with kicks and bites. He who came out worst from this was the secretary whom his Lordship brought over; he was injured in one leg by some

firmary at Nueva Caçeres, where he remained until the next galleon sailed for Acapulco.

[88] This document, as being written by Sanchez, the secretary of the Audiencia of Manila, was probably addressed to the president of the royal Council of the Indias.

Sandin (*Respuesta*, fol. 3 b) asserts that this relation by Sanchez was printed at the Jesuit college in Manila, with the date here given; that it had not been published there when the Acapulco galleon sailed; but that in Mexico City many copies of it were already in circulation before the royal mails reached that city from Acapulco.

kicks, from the effects of which he suffered for several days.[89] When the governor had entered the city, and when he was about two pike-lengths from the gate, the balcony above it, which was full of people, fell; some were killed, others crippled or maimed, and others bruised. Among them were friars and lay-brothers, negroes and whites. With these events, the common people began to indulge in much gossip.

When Don Gabriel had taken possession of his government, his first act was to retire Captain Mateo Lopez Perea, and to make Captain Miguel Sanchez government secretary, quite contrary to their wishes. The second was to appoint as chief chaplain of the royal chapel the canon Master Don Pablo de Aduna, as a reward for having always withdrawn himself from the cabildo, without choosing to acknowledge it as ecclesiastical ruler. The third (and the source of many others) was to bring back our troubles, so that the whole pancake [*tortilla*] was turned bottom upwards – even going so far as to revoke the sentence of banishment on the archbishop, and bring him to Manila. This, as those say who understand the matter, is the most extraordinary thing that has occurred anywhere in the Spanish domain; for he was exiled for disobeying sixteen royal decrees – and I have given an account to his Majesty of these sixteen points of disobedience, or [rather] this disobedience of sixteen points. The preambles of these points, or their history, required much time and no little paper; but they will be summarized as briefly as possible.

After the exile of the archbishop, the actions, con-

[89] Apparently referring to Francisco de Arcocha; but Diaz calls him (p. 775) equerry (*caballerizo*) of the new governor.

versations, and sermons of the Dominican fathers were so wild and extravagant, against the members of the Audiencia, the ecclesiastical cabildo, and the Theatins [*i.e.*, the Jesuits], that their mildest act was to call all of the latter Pharisees or heretics, and utter other jests of that sort, even from the pulpit. Consequently the royal Audiencia felt obliged to advise its president, then Don Juan de Vargas, that he should apply a corrective to these acts. This was a royal decree, requesting and charging the [Dominican] provincial to send to the port of Cavite the friars Bartolome Marron,[90] Raimundo Verart, and P. Pedroche,[91] and to make them ready, at the cost of the order, for [the journey to] España; and to send to Cagayan the two lecturers in theology, Fray Juan de Santo Domingo[92] and Fray Francisco de

[90] Bartolomé Marrón, a native of Asturias, made his profession in the Dominican convent at Valladolid, July 8, 1667, and came to the Philippines in 1671, at the age of twenty-five. Having studied two years at Santo Tomás, he was a lecturer in that college until 1680, and in 1684 was appointed its rector. In 1686 he became provincial, and afterward was in charge of a mission in Pangasinan, and of the church in Binondoc; and was again (1696-1700) rector of Santo Tomás. He filled many other important offices in his order, at various times; and finally died in Manila, January 22, 1717. See sketch of his life in *Reseña biográfica*, ii, pp. 145-155 – including an account of a notable lawsuit brought against him, and the regulations made by him for the inmates of Dominican convents in and near Manila.

[91] Cristobal Pedroche made his profession at Toledo, January 22, 1659, and arrived in the Philippines in 1667. He spent many years in labors among the Chinese, in the Parián and San Gabriel; and at various times filled high offices in his order – among them, that of provincial. In June, 1684, he was imprisoned at Cavite, and afterward sent to Mexico; but the viceroy permitted him to return to the Philippines. He died at Manila on August 20, 1715, at the age of seventy. See sketch of his life in *Reseña biográfica*, ii, pp. 82-100 – which includes a letter by him (June 20, 1684) on the ecclesiastical disturbances of that time.

[92] Juan de (Ibañez) Santo Domingo was born (about 1640)

Vargas,[93] and not allow them to leave that province without a special order from the government. The provincial answered that those religious had not done any of the things that were alleged of them except by his order, and that therefore the blame, if there were any, was his and not theirs; and that all of them were ready to die for the faith. Again he was requested and charged as before, the provincial [94] also being summoned to go to España, to give account of his acts. These orders were resisted, whereupon the convent was surrounded with infantry. As the provincial and Fray Pedroche refused to go out afoot, the soldiers took them from the convent, carrying them with the utmost propriety and respect, by order of the provisor, who was summoned for this function. They went away,

near Calatayud. His early education was obtained in a Dominican convent at Zaragoza, and he was afterward a member of the household of Bishop Palafox y Mendoza. Later, he entered the Dominican convent at Ocaña, where he made profession in 1661. At the age of twenty-six he came to the Philippines, and spent eighteen years in the missions of Pangasinan. After 1686, he lived at Manila, being twice provincial (1696 and 1706), and occupying other important posts. He died there January 15, 1726. (*Reseña biográfica*, ii, pp. 26-34.)

[93] Francisco Antonio de Bargas, a native of Madrid, professed in the Dominican convent at Salamanca, in 1673, at the age of nineteen. Six years later, he arrived at the Philippines. The first nine years he spent in Manila, mainly as a teacher in Santo Tomás; from 1688 to 1696, he labored in the missions of Bataán, and afterward in those of Zambales – except 1698-1702, which he spent at Manila. He died there, on October 7, 1708. (*Reseña biográfica*, ii, pp. 219, 220.)

[94] Antonio Calderón professed in the Dominican convent at Salamanca (in 1664, erroneously says *Reseña*), and came to the Philippines in 1658. He labored in the Cagayán missions until 1682, when he was elected provincial. He, with Fray Pedroche was arrested on June 3, 1684, and sent to Mexico. Thence he returned to Spain, and died at Mombeltrán, at the end of December, 1685.

Father Pedroche hurling excommunications, from which escaped only the alcalde-in-ordinary Pimentel, who conveyed them to Cavite, because he had given them excellent bread and pastries. At this, not only the Dominican fathers and their friends took to flight, but Quintero [95] and his barangay – especially when they saw some embarked for España, and others for Cagayan. Then, the news of the change in government having come, was begun the fabrication of a scheme or plot, well covered up, as follows:

They fully persuaded the governor that this [96] one was a schismatic – as it were, another Inglaterra in the time of Henry VIII; and, to forward their schemes – as he had, before all the religious orders, recognized the cabildo as ecclesiastical ruler – they persuaded the father provincial of St. Augustine, Father José Duque, to render, and command all his friars to render, obedience to the bishop of Troya [97] –

[95] Alluding to General Marcos Quintero, a friend of the Dominicans, who at his death (1703) appointed Fray Bartolomé Marrón (note 90, *ante*) executor of his estate. This led to a notable lawsuit, brought against Marrón by the heirs of Quintero, which was appealed to Mexico and even to Rome; the proceedings continued for many years, the suit coming to an end only in 1726, nine years after Marrón's death. (See *Reseña biográfica*, ii, pp. 151-154.)

"Barangay," as used here, is evidently a bit of slang meaning "gang" or "clique," in modern phrase.

[96] From the context, *esto* here seems to designate the former governor, Vargas.

[97] Gines de Barrientos, titular bishop of Troya, who was assistant to the archbishop. Juan Duran, titular bishop of Sinopolis, was assistant to the bishop of Cebú (then Diego de Aguilar). Andres Gonzalez was bishop of Nueva Caceres (or Camarines); and Francisco Pizarro, of Nueva Segovia. These were Dominicans, save Duran, who belonged to the Order of Our Lady of Mercy; and Pizarro, who in 1681 was a member of the cabildo of Manila cathedral.

who had been nominated as head of the diocese by the archbishop, but whose appointment the royal Audiencia had suspended. The father provincial did so, in a circular letter sent to all the friars of his order, arousing the resentment that might be expected in the ecclesiastical cabildo, and much more in the royal Audiencia.

As soon as the news of the ship arrived, the Troyan wrote and made public a document with this title: "Advice to those who come as strangers to these islands, that they may not err in their judgment of things pertaining to the banishment of the archbishop." This paper had no solidity, and answer to it was made in another, in which the former was utterly demolished[98] with sharp arguments. The provincial made another reply, over his signature, of the same quality as the former document, but with not slight attacks on the authority and patronage of our king. On the same day when the governor entered the city [*i.e.*, August 24] in the afternoon, on that morning came into Manila Fray Bartolome Marron (who went about secretly), and Fathers Juan de Santo Domingo and Juan de Vargas, who were the lecturers exiled to Cagayan; the latter went publicly through the city, scorning the royal authority by which they were exiled. Immediately began the intrigue – which, according to report, came already planned from Mejico.

The governor questioned the religious orders, requesting and charging them to answer the points that go with this letter, which were set forth by the bishop of Troya. The fathers of St. Francis in their paper

[98] Spanish, *se le picaba sobradissimamente la retaguardia* – literally, "its rearguard was entirely cut to pieces."

declared themselves for the king our sovereign, and approved what had been done by the royal court. The Augustinian fathers said, "*Viva Troya!*" [99] with a document full of depositions – some made by so evil a brain as that of Fray Raimundo Verart (but signed by the father provincial Duque); some by two stray (that is, recently arrived) lecturers, one of whom confessed that he had never heard of the works of Solorzano; and the last who signed the paper was Fray Gaspar de San Agustin, the procurator-general, who on account of being learned in grammar, thought that, as versed in the art of Nebrija [100] (who was an auditor), it was the same to know how to conjugate past tenses as to comprehend futures.[101] The Recollect fathers followed their brethren, but with so few depositions that I judge the number did not reach the plural of the Greeks.[102] This paper was much commended, and it is something which I admired, knowing that it was the work of their provincial, Fray Ysidro; and when it was seen it was recognized as his by the style and manner of expression – the stamp of the pulpit, which is that [vocation] for which God has given him grace. The Theatins evaded a reply, recogniz-

[99] *i.e.*, "Hurrah for [the bishops of] Troya!"

[100] Elio Antonio de Nebrija (or Lebrija) was a celebrated linguist and great Latinist, who wrote various works. He was born about the year 1444, and died in 1522. (Dominguez, *Diccionario nacional.*)

[101] Apparently a play on words, mingled with a sarcastic comment on Fray Gaspar. One may hazard the conjecture that the latter (who was a noted grammarian) is here mentioned in contempt as knowing more of grammar than of current affairs, and being able only to understand events actually completed and past, without the foresight to perceive how these affect the future.

[102] *i.e.*, no more than two – referring to the "dual" number in Greek declension.

ing the game (or rather flame) [*juego, o fuego*] that was being started; but they say that in their apology they explained this omission, and expressed their opinions with no little care – saying that they were ignorant of what had passed in the sessions of the royal court; and that, as it was to be inferred that the royal Audiencia had informed his Majesty of everything, they could not pass judgment on those acts.

These papers, or collections of papers, were going about, when the Troyan plunged *in medias res* and decided the question. One Sunday morning at five o'clock, he went with his notary Caraballo, and fiscals, and an escort of soldiers, and entered all the churches (except the cathedral), where he published himself as ecclesiastical ruler, and commanded that they should not recognize the cabildo as such. To this [he added] the penalty of major excommunication and of being considered schismatics, if they did not go to render obedience within three days; and he left posted in all the churches copies of his act.[103] This was an action so extraordinary that, if this were a town of the common people, a riot would have occurred. All the members of the ecclesiastical cabildo repaired to the governor, who received them with scant welcome, and without giving them the title of "Lordship,"[*Señoría*] which is their due when they appear officially as the cabildo. He told the dean to tell his story; and when the latter replied that that cabildo was not going to tell stories, the governor again told him to go on with his story. They told

[103] A copy of this act may be found in Ventura del Arco MSS., iii, pp. 513-515; it is dated "at our house on the river of Manila, October 22, 1684."

him in few words what had occurred, and what had just been done; but when they again told him that the bishop of Troya had taken with him an escort of soldiers, he said that he had no knowledge of such a thing. In conclusion, they stated that by three royal decrees they had been charged with the government [of the see]; and that he should give them another decree, commanding them to surrender it to the bishop of Troya, or that he should approve the bishop's appointment, and immediately they would surrender the government to him; and with that they went away. Immediately the governor held a session (or rather sessions) of the Audiencia, which lasted three days; and at the end of that time "the mountain brought forth," [104] by a majority of votes. It resulted that, at ten o'clock at night, there was a peal of bells, as if for a ship from Castilla; and the members of the cabildo, escorted by many personages, went to render obedience to the Troyan. He informed them that he could not absolve them unless they would swear obedience to the archbishop, which they must also render to his provisor, Juan Gonzalez, on their knees, asking his pardon for the injuries that they had done him, and making amends for the losses that he had suffered. When they resisted, laymen came in among them and undertook to surround them (as they did); and after they fell on their knees they placed their hands on the missal, and, as good men who stood in fear of God, they were granted absolution, but *ad reincidentiam*, until the archbishop should decree what would be most expedient. On another day the Troyan was received

[104] An allusion to the well-known quotation, *Parturiunt montes, nascetur ridiculus mus* (line 139 of the *Ars poetica* of Horatius).

in the cathedral, with military display, the long ringing of the bells, etc.

The governor, who had already decided to restore the archbishop to his see[105] – but without showing the least indication of rehabilitating the royal jurisdiction, and establishing obedience to what had been commanded – despatched General Don Tomas de Andaya and Sargento-mayor Don Gonzales Samaniego[106] for his illustrious Lordship; they were accompanied by the Dominican father Fray Baltasar de Santa Cruz.

His illustrious Lordship came here, and was received with military display, a salvo of artillery, etc. He entered the city clad in his pontifical robes, and went to the palace of the governor, who was awaiting him;[107] they remained a short time in conversation, the governor straitly charging him [to maintain] peace. Then he went to his own house, where he found the superiors of the religious orders, who also had gathered in the cathedral with many other religious to welcome him. He remained two days

[105] The decree of the Audiencia which ordered the restoration of the archbishop to his see was dated October 24, 1684. He returned to Manila on November 16.

[106] This man was delegated by the city of Manila, being one of its regidors, according to Diaz (*Conquistas*, pp. 776, 777).

[107] Diaz states (*Conquistas*, p. 777) that Curuzelaegui declared on this occasion that if the home government should be offended at his restoring the archbishop, he would consider punishment by them for this cause "a great honor, even if it be capital." Diaz praises him as "one of the best governors that these islands have had; affable, pious, magnanimous, wholly disinterested, and very liberal. He also said that he had come to Filipinas to be poor, where other governors had come to be rich. This he said very truly, for in España and Indias he had possessed much wealth – gained in the many voyages that he had made as commander of the fleet and galleons to Perú and Nueva España – which his ostentation and liberality had consumed."

within Manila, and, without visiting the superiors, or returning their visit to him, he contented himself with calling on Generals Tejada, Andaya, and Quintero; and he crossed, near San Gabriel, to the house of Don Francisco de Atienza, who is sargento-mayor of the army.

Everyone promised himself an Octavian peace; but in ten or twelve days war made its appearance, and the more experienced were continually in dread. On the twenty-eighth of November, the eve of the feast of the table of the blessed sacrament, notification was sent to the cabildo, the superiors of the religious orders, and all the curas and missionaries within and without the walls, that no one should admit into any of their churches the auditors, Don Juan de Vargas Hurtado, and many other persons, both citizens and military officers,[108] as having incurred the penalties in the bull *De la cena*. At this the entire community felt as the pious reader can understand, recognizing that the royal authority had been trampled under foot and outraged – and the more so, that some persons who promptly came to him for absolution were required to swear upon the holy gospels that they would never aid in the banishment, exile, or imprisonment of an ecclesiastic, even though this be ordered by the king himself, in person. Thereupon, they frankly declared that they

[108] Diaz gives (*ut supra*, pp. 778, 779) the list of these: the auditors and Governor Vargas; the preceding alcalde-mayor of Manila (either Morales, Camacho or Pimentel), and that of Camarines (Juan de Verastein); Juan Sánchez, secretary of the Audiencia; Juan Gallardo, castellan of Cavite; Sargento-mayor Alonso de Aponte y Andrade, and Captains José de Somonte, Francisco de Urrutia, Diego del Pozo y Gatica, and Miguel Machuca; Admiral Pedro de la Peña; and Captain Baltasar de Lerma, notary-public. The military officers were readily absolved,

would not take such an oath, and returned to their homes, scandalized at such a reply. Those who most resented this stroke were the auditors, especially as, on the following day, when their platform was already placed in the cathedral, and all had resolved to go there, the archbishop sent them a message that they should suspend their attendance there for a time, until these affairs were adjusted. Thereupon, *coram omni populo* [*i.e.*, "in the presence of all the people"] who had gathered to see what was going on, the platform was removed [from the cathedral]. The auditors keenly resented this; but since they are to blame in having done what they could not be forced to do, let them pay the penalty.

The governor astonished at a thing so unexpected, again questioned the religious orders, in the strictest manner, on various points; the principal of these was in regard to the royal ministers [*comision*], whether or not they had incurred censure by having acted according to the laws of his Majesty – which was the same as inquiring whether the said laws were just or unjust. The Augustinians and Recollects evaded answering this. The Franciscans were doubtful; but, learning that the Jesuits had answered and publicly declared that now was the time to stand by our king and give blood and life for him, and that they all would do so in what was not contrary to the law of God, the fathers of St. Francis were also encouraged, and they came to the same resolution. The Theatins gave notice of their decision to the governor; but they told him that sometimes it was necessary to make the occasion and whet the blade;

as not having been free to act, when ordered to proceed against the ecclesiastics.

and, since now they were drawing the sword, they would strike a sure blow and draw blood. Considering the feelings of the Audiencia, and its embarrassed condition, they sent one of their fathers even to its hall of assembly, to make known their resolution to the auditors; those gentlemen were much relieved, and thanked the Jesuits for their courtesy. This was made known throughout the city, and the people expected that this document would be circulated; but it seems that the threat alone was as effectual as the stroke could have been. For, at the instance of the governor, his illustrious Lordship went to the royal court on the sixth day of December, on which was celebrated the fiesta of St. Francis Javier; and, as the result of his visit, the session was closed and all [the auditors] went to the fiesta, to the great joy of the entire city. We do not know what occurred in the session of the Audiencia;[109] only one [writer] mentions that its members were absolved, and others state, more explicitly, that the absolution was only given in the archbishop's mind, and explained by himself with a sort of benediction. It seems that, as a result, they put an end to the lawsuits; but, when the water stopped falling, it rained pebbles.

On Saturday, December 10, the ecclesiastical cabildo, which had governed the see, was notified of all these matters, and that it must be regarded as suspended and under censure[110] for having accepted the government. At the same time, edicts were

[109] Diaz says (p. 779) that the archbishop at this time "absolved the auditors *ad reincidentiam*, within the palace, with no other witnesses than the governor, and embraced them and gave them the kiss of peace."

[110] Spanish, *irregular*. In this usage *irregularidad* means, according to Dominguez, "a canonical impedimenta for receiving

posted making null all the confessions made to the members of the cabildo or to those persons to whom they had given license [to hear confessions], and all other things that had been effected by their authority – as marriages, [the bestowal of] chaplaincies and curacies, etc.[111] These edicts commanded that, under penalty of major excommunication, *latæ sententiæ*, all [persons concerned] should present themselves within six days, with the documents and other papers [in the case]; [112] thereupon many men who were dissatisfied with their wives, and women tired of their husbands, tried to find other spouses who were more congenial. The scruples of people regarding their confessions may well be imagined; and this, too, when Lent was past. But the most astute (although harsh) measure was the command, under the same penalty, that no one should speak, assert, or teach anything contrary to the tenor of the said edict. The Dominican fathers, moreover, even said in the pul-

or exercising holy orders, on account of certain natural defects which produce incapacity, or of crimes or illegal acts which are committed."

[111] See copy of this edict in Ventura del Arco MSS., iii, pp. 517-521. The statement in our text regarding penalties is inaccurate. The edict required that all confessions made to members of the cabildo be made anew; all persons married by them must appear before the archbishop within three days (or ten days for those without the jurisdiction of the city), under penalty of excommunication for European Christians, and for all others fifty lashes and three months in jail; and the same penalties for those on whom the cabildo had conferred holy orders, licenses to preach, chaplaincies, etc. This act was dated November 29, 1684.

[112] Diaz says (p. 779): "But this caused so many dissensions, and opinions from the theologians, that it was found necessary to issue another act (January 8, 1685) in which the archbishop declared the former act null, and ordered that those [married persons] should again appear in court for the revalidation of their marriages."

pits, when *exultant tanquam victores capta preda*,[113] that there is no person in these islands, except the Dominican religious, who has the ability or learning to make a decision in a case of morals. Thus the poor prebends are suspended; nor have they any recourse, since the royal Audiencia is now disarmed. The archbishop proceeded to welcome them with much kindness, telling them that now they came to his illustrious Lordship, because they had recourse in no other direction – words which have aroused much comment, as being insulting to the king and inimical to his royal patronage; and he added, that they deserved to be degraded from office and handed over to the secular power. Above all, he tried to deprive them of their prebends, and to thrust into the cathedral that dealer in fireworks, Caraballo, and others of that stamp. The worst is, that he declares that they cannot be dispensed from their irregular administration [of the see] – nor can appeal be taken to the delegate of his Holiness, or to any other – by any bishop of these islands, since all four are Dominicans and follow the lead of the archbishop; and all the four cities and bishoprics of these islands are entirely unsettled with lawsuits and excommunications at every step. No attention is paid to the officials of his Majesty, the more discreet of whom acquiesce. It is necessary to apply a very exemplary corrective; for they [*i.e.*, the ecclesiastical authorities] have gone to such an extreme that to issue royal decrees to them is the same as to throw caps at the tarasca.[114] They act with contempt for the

[113] *i.e.*, "they are exulting, as do the victors when they have seized their prey."

[114] "An image of a monstrous serpent which is displayed in front

royal authority, which even the most remote barbarians fear and reverence.

On the first of December was published the residencia of Don Juan de Vargas Hurtado; and a fortnight later the city challenged the judge of residencia, by saying that it was conducted with fraud, as the said judge was bribed. The challenge was admitted, and he named for his associate Señor Calderon; as the latter declined, he named Señor de Viga, and then Señor Bolivar, both of whom did the same. The judge continued to nominate other persons, and all excused themselves.[115] As a result, it seems, Don Juan de Vargas was anchored to his island[116] for several years. He himself has caused this, since he has not the dexterity to apply a curb of silver with the royal arms to Captain Quintanilla, the scrivener of the residencia – who still endeavors to urge it on, although he does not lead the plot.

A second embassy came from Borney; and General Don Juan de Morales is going with the title of ambassador, to establish peace at once.[117] They say a

of the procession on Corpus Christi Day – doubtless alluding to the eternal humiliation of the demon, conquered for ever by Jesus Christ" (Dominguez, *Diccionario nacional*).

[115] Among these were the Franciscan provincial, Francisco de Santa Inés, and the Augustinian writer Casimiro Diaz (as the latter states in his *Conquistas*, p. 782).

[116] "Vargas then alleged his being exempt, as a knight of Santiago; but even then the archbishop did not revoke the excommunication, the ex-governor-general of the islands being required to live alone in a solitary house on the islet of the Pasig River, without dealings or communication with any person" (Montero y Vidal, *Hist. de Filipinas*, i, p. 372).

[117] This affair had been initiated by Vargas. "The sultan of Borneo sent an ambassador, soliciting the establishment of commercial dealings with Filipinas. Vargas responded with another and distinguished embassy, his agent being Don Juan Morales de Valenzuela, who [later] brought about the cession of the island of

Theatin will accompany him, to pave the way for introducing the faith into that kingdom.

The commander [of the galleon] for Castilla is Don Francisco Zorrilla; the sargento-mayor, Don Bernardo de Andaya; the chief pilot, Lazcano. [Here is the list of] alcaldes-mayor: Of Tondo, Don Pedro Lozano; of Pampanga, Samaniego; of Bulacan, Armijo; of Bay, Don Antonio de Ortega; of Balayan, Don Juan Antonio de Tabara; of Tayabas, Captain Conde; of Albay, Captain Ariola; of Pangasinan, Arcega; of Ylocos, the former sargento-mayor of Cavite; of Calamianes, Don Alonso de Leon; of Mindoro, Prada; of Panay, Don Agustin Crespo; of the island of Negros, Captain Adriano; of Caraga, Captain Blas Rodriguez. For accountant of his Majesty, Juan del Pozo y Gatica; for castellan of Cavite, Don Alonso de Aponte; for sargento-mayor of that port, Francisco Sanchez.

Considerable is being done on the galleon in Sorsogon, where the "Santelmo" was wrecked; they say that General Don Tomas de Andaya will go there for its construction, with title of lieutenant-governor and commander-in-chief for Mariveles; he is in high favor with the governor.

The bishop of Sinopolis is coming from Cebu, his patience quite exhausted with the follies and impertinences of Don Diego de Aguilar, who has worn out that unfortunate community with his extravagant actions, all originating in his insatiable greed. The ecclesiastical ruler of Cagayan is the bishop of Troya.

On the twenty-third of December the members of

Paragua which that sovereign made in 1705." (Montero y Vidal, *ut supra*, p. 364.)

the cabildo came again to cast themselves at the feet of the archbishop; and, after a long harangue of *misereres* and entreaties, he replied to them by asking if they were not ashamed to show their faces, and other things of the like sort, in the tone of a tercerilla,[118] and then left them. It may well be imagined with what joy they must have celebrated the Christmas feasts.

The evil genius of the archbishop at present is Fray Juan Ybañez, otherwise named de San Domingo; he is the lecturer that was exiled to Cagayan. He has made strenuous efforts to deprive the members of the chapter of their prebends – regarding which the archbishop had three times sent advice to the governor; the latter replied, to the third of these communications, that the archbishop should say no more on this point, because he would not do what he asked. It is a great pity that this gentleman should have meddled by recalling the archbishop from banishment, since that act has been the source of the disturbances in this unhappy community, troubles which will exist for many years; for it cannot be doubted that he has in other respects conducted the government well, and with unwearying efforts – especially in what concerns the increase of the royal revenues. But he is thoroughly repentant for his error, at seeing his hopes of peace frustrated, which was the purpose in his decision.

1685

The prebendaries remained suspended until the fourth Sunday in Lent [*i.e.*, March 25], when the

[118] A metrical composition which is measured in three verses, of which two form a rhyme (Dominguez).

[censure for] irregular government was removed from them; but for this purpose a conference was first summoned by the archbishop. It included the bishop of Sinopolis, the superiors and masters of the religious orders – and with them crowded in all the swarm of doctors and masters of Santo Tomas, to the no little annoyance of the bishop and the religious orders. In this conference the question was asked whether the members of the cabildo were worthy of being absolved for their irregular acts. All answered in the affirmative, except little Master Caraballo; and he said that his illustrious Lordship could not grant the dispensation, as these were cases that concerned the faith, specifying his declaration in the document which was drawn up. The Dominican fathers gave the same opinion; but the bishop of Sinopolis replied to them, saying that if this were a matter contrary to the faith, as they seemed to imagine, they could not discuss it, since that pertained to another tribunal; it was finally decided that the absolution should be given to the prebendaries. When we were all expecting that this would be done, as it ought to be, within the body of the ecclesiastical cabildo, the fourth Sunday of Lent having arrived, the archbishop commanded that there should be no preaching in any of the churches of this city, or in those without the walls; and that all the people should repair to the cathedral in the afternoon. He commanded that two seats should be made ready there – one outside the church, in order that the countless multitude who were present might enjoy this so edifying act; and the other at the great altar itself. The altar and the cibary were covered with a canopy.

At ten in the morning, he declared the members of the cabildo to be excommunicated; and, the facts being as I have already stated above, they were now absolved *ad reincidentiam*, by the bishop of Troya; such relapse [*reincidencia*] had not occurred in any instance, and therefore the declaration of the canons was without cause, and only directed at a very scandalous paper on the absolution – which was performed with great ostentation, in the following manner.

At four in the afternoon, the archbishop being seated on the chair which stood outside the holy church, assisted by his provisor, Juan Gonzalez, and a racionero, the prebends went to him, and, while they knelt there, a judicial record was read to them of all the offenses committed – that is, all the enactments made – by them while governing the archbishopric; and, while they were there before the public in that embarrassing condition, [*en calzas y en jubon*] [119] the names of all those who supported the cabildo, and recognized that body as the ecclesiastical ruler, were read. He even published the Theatins, on account of an opinion that they gave to the cabildo at the latter's request, on the question whether the cabildo could release on bail the cantor Herrera from prison – since he did not appear, nor could his case be prosecuted, nor was there hope that he would appear soon, for it was more than a year and a half that he had spent in prison; the Theatins decided this query in the affirmative, saying that the cabildo not only could, but ought to, release him. Those who signed the paper were the past provin-

[119] Spanish, *en calzas y en jubon*: literally, "in breeches and jacket."

Signature of Pedro Murillo Velarde, S.J.

[*Photographic facsimile from original MS. in Archivo general de Indias, Sevilla*]

cials, Javier Riquelme, former rector of San José, and Tomas de Andrade,[120] rector of the great college and of their university; Fathers Alejo Lopez [121] and Jaime Vestart, at present masters in theology; Ysidro Clarete [122] and Pedro Lope.[123] Although the matter was so plain, and the paper was signed by so many fathers, the archbishop annulled that act, as if he were the supreme pontiff of the Church. This is a matter at which the Theatins have smiled much, but with a smile that but conceals their annoyance.[124] The members of the chapter expressed their detesta-

[120] Tomas de Andrade was born in Toledo, December 2, 1619, and entered the Jesuit order at the age of seventeen. In 1643 he departed for the Philippines, where he professed in 1654. He was connected with San José college some twenty years, twice as rector; acted as provincial during six months; and rector at Antipolo and Cavite, and minister among the Tagals. He died at Manila on May 15, 1689. (Murillo Velarde, *Hist. de Philipinas*, fol. 356 b.)

[121] Alejo Lopez was born July 16, 1645, at Albalate, Spain, and at the age of seventeen became a Jesuit novice. Four years later, he came to Manila, and spent three years in the Visayan missions, being afterward connected with the college in Manila in various capacities. Finally going to Europe on business of the order, he died while on the return journey, September 18, 1693 (Murillo Velarde, fol. 369).

[122] Isidro Clarete was born in 1627, and came to the islands in 1662, where he completed his studies, and became a teacher in the college at Manila (Murillo Velarde, *ut supra*).

[123] Pedro Lope, a native of Malvenda, Spain, was born on November 21, 1613. When nineteen years old, he entered the Jesuit order, and in 1643 came to the Philippines. He spent most of his life in ministering to the Tagálog Indians, and translated into their language (in which he was remarkably proficient) the Roman catechism and other writings. He died at Indang on February 13, 1689. (Murillo Velarde, *ut supra*, fol. 356 b.)

[124] Spanish, *con la risa del conejo*; literally, "with the smile of a rabbit." Dominguez describes it as "the apparent smile which comes to some creatures at death, as the rabbit; and, by extension, the phrase is applied to a person who smiles when he has cause for sorrow or resentment."

tion of all that they had done, and took oath upon the holy gospels that they would not again commit such crimes, besides many other oaths that they took, which were required from them – oaths very offensive to the king our sovereign. Finally, they were absolved as if they were heretics – the harshness of the archbishop reaching such a pitch that he wished to flog them, and already held in his hand the rattan for doing this; but, after many entreaties from their relatives, he refrained from carrying out this threat. This inquisitional act being finished, the archbishop entered the church with them, and, seated on his chair while they stood, he delivered a speech in which he treated them, and the religious orders that recognized them as ecclesiastical rulers, as if they were heretics – although the Dominican fathers, who also had thus recognized them, escaped from this. Those who were most offended were the Theatins; and although they are now silent, one may be sure that they are gathering up their stones. Thus ended this act, which grieved the hearts of all; and on the following day the archbishop commanded that they should go to the convent of Santo Domingo to sing a mass, as a thanksgiving for such absurd performances. It was sung by the treasurer Valencia, assisted by his illustrious Lordship; and the sermon was by the father vicar-general, Fray Bartolome Marron – who, carried away by his fervent spirit, emptied his sack of foolish ideas. Among other things, he declared (besides making many threats) that the Order of St. Dominic was the sister of the clergy, and in proof of this alleged that his convent was ruled by the cathedral clock (although this was a matter generally known, and of no great importance).

Don Juan de Vargas was excommunicated, and interdicted from entering the church, but he was not posted as such. The archbishop would not allow them to go to say mass in his house, without heeding the wretched health of his wife, or his having so large a family – and he suffered the more hardship, as he remained in his house on the island.[125] Besides, when he went out of his house he took with him, as always, his trumpeter; this the archbishop could not endure, for it sounded ill to the Dominicans. Accordingly, they notified him of an act that he should not be accompanied with trumpets, because he was scandalizing those who were weak in the faith – although it was a fact that such scandal was not presented before either the weak or the great. With this, Vargas undertook recourse to the royal Audiencia; and, the document being drawn up, he sent it to the governor, with the request that it be considered in the session of that court. His Lordship withheld it, desiring to settle once for all with the archbishop that he should recall the excommunication or interdict; but, this settlement being somewhat delayed, his Lordship returned the petition to Don Juan, with the message that he must have patience for a few days, while he would make every

[125] Diaz (p. 781) expresses pity for Vargas as thus situated, "unable to have conversation or dealings with any one except the officials of his residencia, and mostly through an agent; deserted by every one, for his servants, as being also under residencia, had enough to do in attending each to his own defense. His only consolation was the companionship of his spirited wife, Doña Isabel de Ardila, who inspired him with courage and strength. It is certain that Don Juan de Vargas was not the worst governor of Filipinas; but he was unfortunate in his disagreeable and harsh manner," and his friend Francisco Guerrero, "a very astute and sagacious man," whose aid would have been invaluable, was then in Nueva España, having deserted his patron to save himself.

effort (as he did) to secure a settlement; but that, if he should not accomplish it in that time, Don Juan should avail himself of his right. During the four days, various arguments and letters passed between his Lordship and the archbishop; and at the end of that time the latter, urged by the diligent efforts of the governor, consented to yield, but in the wrong direction; for he threatened Don Juan de Vargas with being posted as publicly excommunicated, to the great annoyance of his Lordship. Don Juan de Vargas did not resort a second time to the royal tribunal; but instead he went to the archbishop and demanded absolution. The prelate commanded him to go to Father Marron and Father Verart, and ask their pardon, and to do what they should order him to do. He did so, and they commanded him to go to the provisor on the same errand; and the latter sent him to little Caraballo, the dealer in fireworks. All this he fulfilled, even to signing a letter for the king, in which he retracted all that he had written against the Dominicans; in one word, he signed what they placed before him, already written. We all supposed that he would be quickly absolved, and he himself demanded this; but answer was made to him that his illustrious Lordship would notify him of it, and of the time and manner thereof. All this was to give time for the return from Cagayan of the bishop of Troya, so that Don Juan should ask his pardon and compensate him for the injuries which that prelate judged Don Juan had inflicted on him. He came from Cagayan about Holy Week, and that time passed without any mention of absolution, until, on Holy Saturday, the archbishop going to give the Easter salutations to

the governor, the latter addressed him very fittingly – telling him that it seemed very wrong that at a time when Christ our Lord suffered for men, and not only pardoned but even excused those who were tormenting him, his Lordship, who stood in the place of Christ, was incriminating Don Juan de Vargas, and refusing to pardon him even after he had obeyed, in so edifying a manner, all the commands that had been laid upon him, although those commands were unjust, and ought not to be obeyed. This was the substance of the discourse, which lasted more than an hour; and they discussed therein the question of the absolution, with the warmth which will be related.

The archbishop summoned an assembly, by means of the document which I send you with this, full of contemptuous remarks about the royal authority – as the paper itself shows, without further explanation. The good old man is obliged to decide with the Troyan and his friars what he has to do, and then seek the support of the religious orders. For this conference a letter was written to the bishop of Sinopolis, and the latter told the fireworks secretary his poor opinion of such conferences; that if he must do what was there determined by the friars, and if this was to be like the former conference – so many black-gowns [*negritos*] crowding in, and, when one asked a question, its stirring up fifteen hundred other things – it was best to cease having such assemblies. The bishop remained at home, but sent his written opinion that the archbishop ought to absolve Don Juan de Vargas, and that privately. The Franciscans and Theatins did not attend the conference, nor did they send their opinions – excusing themselves

by letter, with various pretexts, which did not taste like honey to him. The archbishop wrote to the guardian of St. Francis an ill-tempered letter, threatening him with vengeance; but the guardian was not asleep, nor did he forget the rule of "interrogation and reply," etc. At the said conference were present the Troyan, the Augustinian and Recollect provincials, and the two Dominicans Marron and Verart, the axletrees of the other cart; these last and the Troyan said that poor Vargas could not be absolved. Father Duque, the Augustinian provincial, declared that he could and ought to be absolved, and that privately, saying: "As for the offences of Vargas, either they are or are not committed against the faith; if they are against the faith, as is being assumed, they do not belong to your illustrious Lordship or to us, and it is not allowable to discuss them here." Verart sprang to his feet like a flash, and began to argue with the Recollect. In such debates the entire afternoon went by, without their reaching any decision. At the end of a week the sentence was uttered, and Vargas was notified that for four months he must do what follows: During the first month, he must go on every feast-day to divine worship in the cathedral, clad in the sackcloth robe of a penitent, and with a halter round his neck; and in this guise, he must listen in public to mass. The second month, he must do the same at the convent of San Domingo; the third month, at San Gabriel; and the fourth, at Binondo – and this, when it had been decided in the conference that he should be "absolved privately," which are the formal terms of the sentence! When he was notified of this, he appealed from that decree to the court where this matter

legally belonged;[126] but as all the bishops were Dominicans, where could he go where they would not confirm his sentence? Accordingly, Vargas came before the royal Audiencia, asking a laymen's decree.[127] His petition was considered in the session of that court, and [afterward] shown to the fiscal of his Majesty, who [at the time] was absent, inspecting a Chinese ship. In this state (which is not one of innocence) the affair remains at the time of this writing; but if it shall be decided before the ship sails [for Acapulco] I will write further.

I only omitted to state that the first sentence of the archbishop was, that Vargas might choose between the punishment above described and the following one (which is not to be talked about): He should erect in the plaza, at his own expense, a scaffold or stage, and then give notice that it was there; and the archbishop would go to absolve him thereon. Vargas must go thither naked from the girdle upward, wearing yellow hose, and carrying a green candle; and on the stage he would be flogged. And in truth he deserved the lash, since, by not sending to España, as the royal Audiencia decided, the two friars who made war on him, he finds himself today in so great affliction, which also occasions the royal authority to be insulted as never before has been seen in all the [Spanish] realm.

At this same time poor Don Juan de Vargas finds

[126] Apparently referring to the "ordinary," or usual ecclesiastical court.

[127] Spanish, *auto de legos*; a decree issued by a superior tribunal, prohibiting to an ecclesiastical judge the cognizance of a suit that is purely civil, and between laymen, referring it to a competent judge.

himself in the fray of his residencia.[128] For this investigation the governor named, as associates of the judge, his Majesty's accountant, Captain Don Juan del Pozo Gattica, and Sargento-mayor Lucas Mateo de Urquiza. The secret inquiry ended a week ago, but they have not made known the findings therein, which are said to be favorable. Only the Dominican fathers, in whom he trusted for this emergency, have aided him by contributing [a document of] fifty-three sections, regarding his entire life and character – many of these concerning the Zambals of Playahonda, whom he had assigned to the Dominicans;[129] and the first section goes to show that he "lacked the chief qualifications of a knight"– the way in which they speak of him. The city, through its attorney, made fifty-six charges against him; and among these they demanded from him damages for the losses that this community had suf-

[128] Diaz says (*Conquistas*, pp. 781, 782) that this residencia, taken by Juan de Zalaeta, was the most bitter and obstinate ever known in the islands, for it lasted four years, and its records occupied twenty large volumes.

[129] Salazar (*Hist. Sant. Rosario*, pp. 131-133) gives an account of this assignment. He asserts that the Zambals had formerly been under the charge of the Recollects, who in more than seventy years had been unable to convert that tribe. In 1676 the natives themselves asked for Dominican teachers; some were sent, at which the Recollects complained, as an intrusion on their field, and the Dominicans withdrew. In 1678 Juan de Vargas came as governor, and, the Zambals again asking for Dominicans, the governor induced the Recollects to accept Mindoro in lieu of Zambales, making over the latter to the Dominican order. The latter gave up these missions in 1712. (See *Reseña biográfica*, i, pp. 486-504.)

Concepción (*Hist. Philipinas*, viii, pp. 4-7) declares that the Recollects were unwilling to surrender their Zambal missions, yielding to the compulsion and threats of the archbishop and the governor; and that the natives themselves were angry at the proposed change, but were pacified by their Spanish alcalde-mayor.

fered from the return to port of the ship or galleon "Santa Rosa"– because instead of ballast they placed in it wax, and for fifteen hundred other articles that were included in the lading of the ship. As soon as the secret inquiry was ended, Admiral Faura was arrested in the fort, and Sargento-mayor Gallardo at the entrance of the bastion; and all their goods were seized – but not much of their property was found; if there had been, it would have showed that they were fools, and certainly they are not of that sort. All agree that six hundred thousand pesos would not suffice Don Juan de Vargas for what they demand from him.[130]

In Camarines there are great controversies between the bishop and the Franciscans, whose commissary, Fray Ysidro de la Madre de Dios, made very sarcastic [*saladas*] remarks to the bishop who, it seems, does not relish so much salt. The former acted so that the bishop demanded from the royal Audiencia that they should send that friar to España. It is to be noticed that this good religious is so devout that his friars, on account of his modest behavior, call him "the Theatin" [*i.e.*, "the Jesuit"]; but seeing himself accused on such a ground, he was furiously angry, going so far as to tell the bishop that everything was going to destruction since bishops so ignorant as his illustrious Lordship were appointed, etc. The royal Audiencia made no answer to the bishop's demand, except in general terms; for

[130] A loose note in Ventura del Arco MSS. (iii, p. 555), evidently made by that compiler from some writing of 1685, states that the citizens complained of the lack of vessels every year for their trade, and for this blamed his henchmen. Two of these, whom he employed in business affairs, were arrested, Fabra and Gallardo.

that religious has a well-established reputation, and it is acknowledged that he has cause [for what he says].

By a royal decree the bishop of Troya was notified that he must raise the censures that he had laid upon the alcaldes-mayor, the collectors [of tribute], and the rest of the officers of justice throughout the bishopric of Cagayan. Up to the time of this writing, he has not replied; if he shall do so, I will add a note of it.

The royal court soon responded to the petition by Don Juan de Vargas, by a royal decree which was sent to the archbishop, to the effect that he should absolve Vargas *ad reincidentiam*, and send them the acts. It was doubted whether the governor would sign it, because he disliked lawsuits and controversies, and because this was to decide the point at issue; but he signed it. The secretary of the court went to make the decree known, and the good old man took the document for the ceremony of kissing it and placing it on his head – but, placing it in his breast, told the secretary that he needed time to reply to it; that those gentlemen [of the Audiencia] took their time for planning these decrees, and expected that he would reply in haste; and that he must send him stamped paper for a reply. The secretary replied that he had orders not to leave the royal decree with the bishop, and that his illustrious Lordship could answer that he heard it, and afterward reply by means of a long letter whatever he chose; but the latter was obstinate,[181] and refused to give back the decree, and told him to wait for his answer. Since this will be actually made by Fray Marron and Fray

[181] Spanish, *dijó tijeratas*; literally, "talked scissors."

Verart, it will make much trouble. In fine, he has, however, already explained extra-judicially his intention – which is, that even if they cut off his head he will not lower a shred of sail; and if he posts the governor and auditors on the list of excommunicated persons, it will be [not only] what can be demanded, but what they deserve. It is expected that the contest will be renewed,[132] and affairs point to nothing less.

The archbishop has now replied to the decree, and his answer was to send a bunch, or *olla podrida*,[133] of papers which he calls "acts." Regarding the absolution, he says therein that he cannot absolve Don Juan de Vargas, since it is a matter which concerns the Inquisition. The Audiencia held a session on the first of the month, regarding the archbishop's reply; their conclusion has not been made public.

A military council was held to deliberate upon the reëstablishment of [a fort at] Zamboanga, and all voted that this should be accomplished. The city was informed of this, as a command of his Majesty, in order that the citizens might aid the enterprise; but they were of a contrary opinion, for reasons which it is said, are frivolous. The truth is, according to report, that they do not like to be exiled [there]. The governor demanded the opinion of the Theatins, which they gave in accordance with that of the military council, very energetically demolishing the reasons adduced by the city. The

[132] Spanish, *que vuelvan las nueces al cantaro*; literally, "the nuts will roll back into the jar."

[133] A dish composed of various kinds of meat and vegetables boiled together – used figuratively for any medley or miscellaneous collection.

whole matter, it seems, is going before the royal Council. Manila, June 8, 1685.

Occurrences during the term of government of Cruzalaegui

1. With the publication in Manila of the coming of Admiral Don Gabriel de Cruzalaegui in the ship "Santa Rosa," to govern these islands, was revealed the obligation which he brought from Mejico to restore the archbishop.

2. Before the said governor arrived, the bishop of Troya published a document with the title, "Advice to those who come newly to these islands, that they may not err in judgment regarding the banishment of the archbishop." In this writing there were propositions opposed to the Audiencia, the cabildo, and the royal decisions.

3. Reply was made to this by an anonymous writer, against whom Fray Raimundo Verart came out with drawn sword, issuing a manifesto that was full of assertions hostile to the royal jurisdiction and to the cabildo.

4. The governor entered Manila on August 24, 1684. There was an earthquake on that day, an unusual occurrence for that time; and soon after he had passed through the Puerta Real the balcony fell, and with it more than one hundred persons – of whom many were injured, some died, and others were crippled.

5. The governor soon manifested the partiality that he felt for the Dominicans, intriguing with Fray Francisco de Vargas and Fray Juan de Ybañez, who had been sent out of the city by the royal Au-

diencia, but had returned to it before the entry of the said governor; he did the same with Verart and Marron, who had been banished, but left their hiding-places and appeared [in the city] when he entered it.

6. Under cover of the favor which the governor showed to the Dominicans, they made impudent speeches in the pulpits against the royal Audiencia and the cabildo; and they refused to join them in public functions, regarding them as excommunicated. For the same reason, they would not go to the procession for the publication of the bull, even when they were commanded to do so by the commissary of the Crusade.

7. The cabildo rendered account to the governor, in a very learned document, of their government during the absence of the archbishop; the Audiencia also made him a very suitable report of what they had done. But the governor paid no attention to either of the two reports, in order to carry his own point, the restitution of the archbishop.

8. The governor endeavored to influence the auditors at his will, doing them some favors and making some approaches to them, which they, faithful to their king, resisted. Not being able to subdue them by this method, he arranged that a demand be contrived by means of Don Tomas de Endaya and Don Francisco de Atienza (both of them regidors and belonging to his faction), that the city should sign a letter of advice to the governor, in which they should represent to him the difficulties arising from the banishment of the archbishop, and the uneasiness of the people occasioned by their uncertainty as to what would be done in regard to the government of

the cabildo, etc.; and request his Lordship to adopt such measures as should be most opportune to put an end to their anxiety. Those of the governor's following signed this paper very readily; those who follow the truth, reluctantly; and there was one who refused to sign.

9. The governor consulted the religious orders upon this point, and upon the excommunications which the Dominicans were [*word blotted in MS.*]. The Society of Jesus excused themselves from responding to such a consultation, because they observed the malicious design with which it was asked. The Franciscans at first excused themselves, but afterward answered in favor of the cabildo. The Augustinians were ready to suit the pleasure of the governor, on account of being very intimate with the Dominicans; and the same was done by the Recollects, who follow the Augustinians in everything.

10. With the said opinions, obtained by pressure, the governor ordered that the bishop of Troya should begin to rule the archbishopric, under the protection of the governor. This he did, one Sunday, which they fixed, October 22; and he was styled governor of the archbishopric, and personally went about, posting in the churches certain edicts in which he summoned the entire cabildo to appear before the ecclesiastical court within the next three days, under penalty of being regarded as publicly excommunicated, to give satisfaction for having arrogated to themselves the government; and on the same day he took away Juan Gonzalez, who was a prisoner in his own house, and carried him to [the convent of] San Agustín; and to the persons whom

he found there he intimated that they would have this man as provisor.

11. This so violent mode of proceeding caused much disquiet in the community; and if the cabildo, desiring to maintain the peace which the bishop of Troya and his friars were disturbing, had not yielded, some tumult among the people would have resulted, so great was their excitement.

12. The ecclesiastical cabildo repaired to the governor in regard to this case, and were coldly received by him. A session of the royal Audiencia was held; the fiscal set forth the right of the cabildo, and justified their government; but notwithstanding this the governor declared himself for the bishop of Troya, and displayed the [written] opinions mentioned above, with which he confirmed the former pretension of restoring the archbishop.

13. During the four days while the sessions of the Audiencia lasted, there were long debates in the palace, and much confusion among the people. The governor talked loudly, and expressed opinions that the cabildo must not govern. The fiscal stripped off his robe, indignant that the royal patronage was not respected. During those days, no receptor or court secretary was allowed to enter the session, so that no testimony of the proceedings should be taken. The Dominican friars [went] in crowds to the palace. Marcos Quintero, who is entirely for them, had offered to the governor, it is said, to pay whatever fine he might impose for this.

14. [The bishop of] Troya governed the archbishopric in the interval before the archbishop was restored to his see. Endaya went on this errand with a royal decree, obtained by the utmost violence, and

given very reluctantly by the auditors, who were afraid, because the governor intimidated them by the language he used. He received the archbishop with [salvos of] artillery and muster of the troops.

15. The archbishop, instigated by his friars, began to take his revenge on November 22 of the same year. He sent notifications to the ecclesiastical cabildo, the religious orders, etc., of an act ordering that they should not admit into their churches the master-of-camp Don Juan de Vargas Hurtado, or the auditors, or many other persons and military officers who had a share in his banishment, or in the deportation of the Dominican provincial and other friars.

16. The cabildo wrote to the archbishop to inquire whether entrance to the church should be denied to the auditors if they came in a body as the Audiencia, as they go on communion days [*dias de tabla*]; and he replied that this should be done, in whatever manner they might go to church. In consequence of this, the Audiencia did not attend at two communion feasts; these were the commemoration of the blessed sacrament in the cathedral, and the day of St. Andrew the Apostle.

17. The governor showed a desire to settle with the bishop his relations with the Audiencia; and he arranged that on the sixth of December all the auditors should be present together in the palace, and that the archbishop should come to meet them, as if by chance, and talk with them, and thus have a sort of absolution conferred – a mummery [*mogiganga*] by which they could attend that day the feast of St. Javier, which was celebrated at the church of the Society of Jesus.

18. All those proscribed in the archbishop's act went to ask for absolution; and he commanded them

to take oath that they would not obey the ministers of the king in matters pertaining to ecclesiastical persons. For others, the formula of the oath was, that they must swear to observe the sacred canons. This proceeding caused great disquiet in the minds of the citizens.

19. Some disturbances led to others. On the ninth of December notification was served on the dean and four dignitaries of the cabildo, with a canon, that they must be regarded as under censure as irregular, for having assumed the government of the church, and for having arrested Juan Gonzalez and Don Pablo de Aduna.

20. The cabildo found itself entirely defenseless against the manifest anger of the archbishop, without power to appeal either to [the ecclesiastical court of] Camarines – since its bishop, the head of that court, was of the Dominican faction – or to [the court of] Cagayan, since Troya was there; or to the Audiencia, since recourse to that body was prohibited, and the governor did not wish to interfere with the archbishop.

21. On the same day, the ninth of December, an edict of the archbishop was posted in which were annulled the sacraments of penance administered by the said prebends, and the licenses which they had given for hearing confessions, preaching, etc.; *item*, the marriages solemnized without the permission of his provisor, Juan Gonzalez – and they rained down censures, excommunications, and threats by the thousand, according to the fury of Father Verart, who directed all these. By another edict, dated January 8, all the legal causes and suits which had been tried before the cabildo and its provisor were declared null and void.

22. The said measures produced innumerable perplexities. Soon afterward, the archbishop attempted to deprive the said prebends of their appointments; and to this end he held a conference with the governor, proposing most unworthy persons in the place of those prebends. This proposal was considered in the session of the Audiencia, and censured as irregular and out of order; and it went no further.

23. The archbishop issued an act against the trumpet of Don Juan de Vargas, commanding that he conduct himself as an excommunicated person. Soon afterward (on February 10, 1685), he posted Don Juan on all the church doors as publicly excommunicated. The latter had recourse to the royal aid, and wrote an excellent document in his defense; but the governor did nothing for him, and only commanded him to obey the archbishop and be reconciled with him.

24. Seeing himself deprived of recourse, the poor gentleman did all that he could to procure a reconciliation with the archbishop and the Dominican friars. He was commanded to beg the pardon of all the aggrieved parties, even from the most inferior lay brethren; and he did this, at the cost of many rebuffs. After this, the archbishop obliged him to swear, declare, and attest that when he sent the archbishop in a vessel to his exile he had sent him away without supplies of everything necessary, although this was manifestly false, for provision was made as if for a royal person. Even when he had done what was demanded from him, the archbishop would not even take his name from the list of excommunicates, such

was his hatred for Don Juan. *Ab ira et odio et mala voluntate monachi dominici libera nos, Domine.*[134]

25. The archbishop claimed that the senior auditor, Doctor Don Diego Calderon, should [not] be absolved from the censures which, the archbishop informed him, he had incurred because of the demand which he made, when he was fiscal, against Bishop Palú,[135] who landed in these islands, with whom the Dominicans had secret dealings. Calderon replied to the archbishop, setting forth the reasons which induced him to act as he did with Palú; and for the time the archbishop desisted from his intentions.

26. The prebends endured this persecution with incredible patience. Again the governor wrote a letter, [endeavoring] to mediate in the question of granting a dispensation [to the cabildo] for their irregular government, and engaged the bishop of Sinopolis as his agent. Ybañez went to the dean to tell him that all would be settled according to his satisfaction, but this was nothing but a falsehood and invention; for the dispensation [136] was conferred with the utmost ignominy for the cabildo and prebends, for the greater glory and triumph of the Dominicans, the managers of this scene-shifting.

27. They obliged the prebends to make certain declarations, which were fraudulent and misleading, so that it was difficult not to blunder in the replies,

[134] *i.e.*, "From the anger and hatred and ill-will of a Dominican friar, deliver us, O Lord."

[135] Some account of Palu's coming to Manila will be found in VOL. XLII, in Diaz's history of the Augustinian missions.

[136] In the text, *deposicion*, an obvious error of the transcriber.

which were directed by Father Verart, the mainspring of all these plots. They made the prebends take an oath; the latter consented to this, and submitted to everything, in order to extricate themselves from so much annoyance and to be free from enemies so powerful and so persistent.

28. The archbishop commanded the prebends to make a statement of detestation [of their errors], in which were contained things prejudicial and inimical to the royal jurisdiction and prerogatives; and others, complimenting the archbishop and his friars and various private persons. On the same day a conference had been held in which it was asked whether the said prebends were worthy of being dispensed; it was decided that they were, because those who were following the current with the archbishop were very influential, but those who were more judicious and learned thought that there was no reason why the said dispensation was necessary.[187]

29. On the following day the archbishop again declared the members of the cabildo to be excommunicated, alleging that although the bishop of Troya had absolved them, he had done so only *ad reincidentiam*, for such time as the bishop should choose. In the said act he also commanded that in the afternoon of the same day they should go to the cathedral to receive absolution and dispensation; and on the next day they must all go to the church of Santo Domingo, to make amends to the friars for imagined injuries.

30. The function of the absolution and dispensa-

[187] Spanish, *sentian no haber materia sobre que cayesse dicha dispensacion.* That is, the prebends had not deserved censure, and therefore ought not to need dispensation.

tion was celebrated with the greatest publicity, and in a very marked, offensive, and injurious manner. An enormous number of the lower class of people were called in, from the neighboring villages – and especially from Binondoc, which is a village in charge of the Dominicans; for that purpose, the sermons which would occur that afternoon in some churches were suppressed, so that all the people could go to see a performance that would so exalt the Dominican fathers.

31. The prebends went to the church, ignorant of the measures taken for exposing them to ignominy. They found two tribunals erected, one at the church door, and the other inside, at the great altar; and there was an enormous concourse of people. Of the religious orders, the Dominicans were there in great numbers; from the colleges, only the members of Santo Thomas [*Tomistas*]. The archbishop occupied his judgment-seat at the door of the church, and at either side were his beloved Juan Gonzalez and Aduna. He called the prebends and made them kneel before him in order to be absolved, as if they were heretics. He handled a ferule while the *Miserere* lasted, although he did not, on account of the entreaties of those who were present, strike the capitulars with it. Then he went inside the church, and after performing other ceremonies, took his seat on the second platform, where he made an address, in which he gave many and sharp stabs to those who favored the cause of the cabildo; and after that the performance came to an end, with much gossiping among the people, who regarded these actions as revengeful.

32. The archbishop prepared a feast in order

to regale the prebends, quite contrary to his usual manner and harsh temper; the prebends attended it unwillingly, seeing that they had been treated like boys, and that this banquet was only a device to shut their mouths. He made them elect another secretary for that same cabildo's corporation, and afterward inflicted punishment on him who was secretary while they governed; this was a poor cleric, whom he declared excommunicated and suspended,[138] and seized his little property, for having acted officially in the proceedings brought against Don Juan Gonzalez by the dean as provisor.

33. Troya returned from Cagayan, where he had gone, on the pretext of administering confirmations, during the time of these transactions. There he deprived of their curacies, and loaded with censures, Licentiate Diego de las Navas and Bachelor Diego de Espinosa Marañon; and having sent them to Manila, he placed friars in their stead. Afterward he imposed excommunications on the alcaldes-mayor and collectors of tribute who might buy and sell goods with the Indians of those provinces.

34. Don Juan de Vargas, after his name had been on the list of excommunicates two months, and he had been interdicted for four months from entrance into the churches, solicited absolution, by a petition to the archbishop; the latter sent it to Troya, so that he might poison it. Troya pushed Don Juan farther toward ruin, and – paying no attention to the reasons which the said master-of-camp Vargas brought forward as having influenced him to banish the archbishop, in behalf of the prerogatives of the king our sovereign – he made answer furiously, that Don Juan

[138] This was José de Nava y Albis.

must be absolved with publicity; and, although the governor advised him, the bishop paid no heed to this.

35. At Lent in 1685, the archbishop suspended three fathers of the Society, to whom the cabildo while it governed had given permission to preach and hear confessions; he did this not only because of the aversion which he had taken for the cabildo, but on account of the enmity which he had always felt toward the Society. The governor compelled two foreign ships to pay very exorbitant imposts, at which they were greatly dissatisfied.

36. Don Juan de Vargas was not ready for absolution. The archbishop called together the theologians, to tell him whether the absolution should be given privately; this was decided in the affirmative by the majority of votes, but the Dominicans opposed it. The archbishop, in order to defeat the resolution, decreed that Vargas must first perform the following penance: During an entire month, he must be present in the cathedral, from morning until high mass, clothed in sackcloth and in the garb of a penitent, with a halter round his neck; and for another month he must, in the same manner, attend the church of Santo Domingo; another, the hospital of San Gabriel; and another, the church of Binondoc. Then, the said penance being accomplished, he would be absolved by Domingo Diaz, a mestizo of infamous character. The said Don Juan de Vargas appealed, but the appeal was not allowed him, and he remains in the same condition up to the present time.

Paragraphs of a letter written from Manila, June 15, 1685, by Auditor Don Pedro Sebastian de Bolivar y Mena to his agent at Madrid, Don Diego Ortiz de Valdes.

In this ship came as governor of these islands Don Gabriel de Curuzalegui y Arriola, a knight of excellent abilities, very disinterested, and intent on the service of his Majesty – whose royal revenues from the department of customs, which were so impaired, have been enormously increased, of which he will, I doubt not, send statements to the Council. The trouble is, that this place is so corrupt that, even though a very good man comes here, with the best intentions, people make him fail in his duty. Even if I had not had a letter from you for the purpose, he would show indignation against me. For, having spoken to the governor at various times, and asked if you had hinted anything about me, either personally or through Don Tomas, he has replied that such was not the case; but this did not happen to Don Diego de Viga, for he carried the recommendations of Don Tomas, and therefore has a place in [the governor's] affection – although he shows all kindness to me also, and I endeavor to serve him as far as I can reasonably. As soon as this knight arrived, he made strenuous efforts to secure the restoration of the archbishop to his see – for which he made a proposition, or offered his opinion, to the royal court, finding occasion for this in one which the secular cabildo had offered on the same subject. And, although, in the private conferences which he held with each one of us upon this matter, it was represented to him that such a solution [of the difficulty] was impossible – since account of it had been rendered to his Majesty,

and the acts therein referred to him; and also since the circumstances and facts which had given cause for the archbishop's banishment still existed; and that no restitution had been or would be made to the royal jurisdiction for the injury that he had done it, nor had he offered any betterment in the future – he nevertheless insisted that it must be done. And as here there is no [opportunity for any] will, save that of a governor, since he is absolute, we all had to acquiesce, under compulsion and pressure, in the restitution of the archbishop – and not only that, but also in accepting the bishop of Troya as governor *ad interim* until his illustrious Lordship came back. As soon as the latter arrived, he began to unsheathe the sword, against all the human race; for he declared that all three of us auditors had incurred the excommunications imposed by the bull of *Cena* [*Domini; i.e.*, the Lord's Supper] and by the canon, commanding that we should not be admitted into the churches. This we reported to the governor, and reminded him of the inconveniences which, as we had represented to him, would follow from such restitution; and he, while acknowledging this, talked of availing himself of extrajudicial measures to hinder those that were judicial; consequently we were interdicted from the church for several days. At the end of that time, he sent to summon me, on an occasion when I was alone in the Audiencia, and told me that he had the matter settled; that the act [of excommunication] should be recalled – with only [the stipulation] that the archbishop should go to the palace at a time when we all were there together with his Lordship; and that, the archbishop entering with him, we should kiss his hand, and everything would remain

settled. I informed my associates of this, and all agreed to it, provided that the word "absolution" should not be used, because if it were, all of us would leave the room; moreover, we supposed that Don Juan de Vargas would be included in this act, for, as he had concurred with us, as our president, it would be very proper that he should do the same as we. I gave this reply to the governor, and he told me that as for what concerned Don Juan de Vargas, he had already arranged it, and that for this he was responsible. In accordance with this [agreement], we assembled at the palace. The archbishop came, and we went forward to receive him, making the obeisance due to the prelate; with that, the prohibition was recalled, and we remained free to enter the churches. But it was continued with Don Juan; and to this day his name remains on the list of excommunicated persons. It is intended, as I understand, that his absolution shall be made in public, with all the ancient ceremonial forms.

He published an act declaring that all persons who had directed the cabildo during his absence were under censure as irregular; and annulling the marriages celebrated, the licenses given to confessors, and the confessions that had been made to them, and whatever else had been done during the time of his banishment. The prebends were regarded as irregular for more than three months; at the end of that time he erected a stage at the main doors of the holy cathedral church, and thereon publicly absolved them – having previously published an edict that at the said function should assemble all the Indians, Sangleys, mestizos, and negroes of the neighboring villages, which occasioned astonishing disturbances.

All affairs thus remain as they were, and these vassals are without any recourse, since they dare not interpose that plea before the Audiencia, as it is so powerless to exercise its functions; consequently, to state the case in few words, the archbishop does whatever suits his whim, without there being any one to restrain him.

These proceedings keep me in the utmost anxiety, as I fear that so unreasonable an act as this restitution will be very ill received in the Council, which will lose respect for the authorities here, as the matter was pending in that body. Accordingly, and on account of what may be carried to España, I give you this information, so that you may, if opportunity offers, make it known, as I dare not write to the Council about it, for my letters may not be sent forward – as happened to Don Juan de Vargas, while of the letters that were written against him copies were sent to the Council. If this should occur [now], it would result in ruining us all. Notwithstanding these difficulties, I am on very good terms with the archbishop, so much so that in any event, whatever I may do, they will stand up in my favor; and they have even gone so far as to tell me that they are writing this year to his Majesty, assuring him of my excellent mode of procedure, and how incorrect was the information to the contrary. Your Grace will inquire at the secretary's office, and let me know whether this is really so; for one cannot trust in friars, and, in order that they may not imagine that I distrust them, I have not asked them for the letter, in order to send [a copy of it to you].

The viceroy of Nueva España having appointed, in accordance with the permission given him by the

Council, Don Juan de Zalaeta, the castellan of Acapulco, as judge of residencia for Don Juan de Vargas, he came here and presented all his credentials in the royal court – where, without any contention, it was ordered that they be put into force and carried out. Among the despatches came a royal decree forbidding this royal Audiencia from taking cognizance of anything belonging to the said residencia; but, this being granted, twelve days after its publication the said judge was challenged by the city on account of the entire case. As he had not been declared to be judge for that, but only an associate, the city hastened to the Audiencia in order that this court might declare the said judge to be thus challenged. Among other reasons that the city alleged for this proceeding was the statement that in the port of Acapulco, the viceroy having commissioned the said judge to seize the bales and merchandise which were going in the ships on account of the said Don Juan de Vargas and his servants and friends, the judge had not carried out the said seizure, on account of fifty thousand pesos which they had given him. Although it is certain that the reasons adduced were very forcible, the Audiencia, recognizing the force of the inhibitory decree, declared that they could not intermeddle by giving a decision on the said challenge; and that the governor should appoint associates [*adjuntos*] for him, in order that they might continue the said residencia with the said judge; and that the original documents connected with the said challenge should be sent to the Council. Although the residencia was prosecuted, the charges [against Vargas] have not yet been published. It seems to me that it is being settled very conformably to justice, although the

proceedings cannot fail to show many defects on account of the judge's inexperience; for he is not a learned man, and here the lawyers are very few, and the conduct of [such] a case is exceedingly difficult.

As soon as the city brought forward in the court the challenge against the judge, Don Juan de Vargas challenged all three of us auditors; and in the course of the proceedings I introduced a document acknowledging myself as challenged; [I did this] not only on account of what Don Juan de Vargas had done for me, but because it was a brother-in-law of mine who was under residencia, and his advocate also bore that relation to me. They must have had good reasons for not regarding me as challenged, and so I had to vote. I give you information of all this, in order that if any reparation be proposed there, it may be in this; for I judge that the points and articles of this residencia will cause the utmost embarrassment in the Council, and that it will be necessary to command that it be taken again. I give thanks to our Lord that it has not reached me; for it would cause me the utmost injury and perplexity – partly on account of his wrong acts, partly because those who had written unpleasant letters to the Council now turn tail, and explain nothing. This, it may be, is attributed to the judge, who is not to blame – for here there are only false witnesses, now on one side and now on the other; and you will confirm this information by what goes there, which you will not fail to know. For it seems to me that in all the lands discovered [by Spaniards] there is no country like this, or where its inhabitants are so inconstant. Accordingly, I assert that here neither friendship nor enmity is permanent; for if now, for example, some persons

are my enemies, and on that account my actions are pointed out in the Council, when [the news of] my vindication – through this or that accident – comes from there we become reconciled, and eat, as they say, from one plate; and the same on the other side. It is useless, therefore, to take notice of anything in this little edition of hell [*abreviado infierno*].

I have no other request or greater desire than to leave this place; and although (for since I arrived in these islands I have written to you at every opportunity) I have sufficiently wearied you regarding this, I cannot cease continuing [my efforts to go away] – without urging any fixed and assigned place, or where or how it shall be accomplished. For every day, Don Diego, I find myself more disconsolate, and I would by this time be desperate if I could not trust in the good opinion that I have of you; and therefore, hoping for your protection and stationed at your feet, I entreat you with the utmost earnestness [for a change in my position], without heeding whether or not it be a promotion. For me the best promotion will be to go away, wherever it may be; and if it cannot be accomplished in this way, [please] endeavor to secure for me permission, for such time as may seem proper to the Council, to pass over to Nueva España, in accordance with what I wrote last year, as there was no room for either of these expedients to secure my departure. I send a special power of attorney for you to make in my name surrender and renunciation of this post, for the causes and reasons which I will allege in the Council, either personally or by my attorney; I do not do so now, on account of the damage and risk which thus may be occasioned to me because I do not desire a post in which there is

so much corruption as there is in this. And more, I would almost rather go to get a living by some petition or commission than to be auditor of Filipinas; and this, Don Diego, is the truth. Here there is no liberty for anything; there is no authority, no respect, and, above all, not an atom of profit. Then, what is such a post good for? It is only fit for ruining honor and reputation, and for this it is notorious. In case I shall get away from here by any of the aforesaid ways, you will ask that a judge of residencia máy be appointed for me, so that he may take it before I shall go; for I do not wish to leave behind these *sorrapas*. You will previously challenge Don Diego de Viga and Don Esteban de la Fuente y Alanis; for these two gentlemen, each in his own way, are very malicious, and have very little affection for colleagues. I know them well, by experience of what they have done to other persons; and I do not wish that they do the same to me. It is also necessary to obtain for me a royal decree, so that I may not be hindered by the governor or any one else, that all the persons in my household, and those who came with me to these islands, may return in my company; and that I may be assigned a small room for storage of my provisions for the voyage. For here it is not the same as in the north,[189] where there are general accommodations for the passengers; but each one furnishes his own provisions; and, unless a place is assigned in which these may go, the transportation charges cost more than one thousand pesos; but, as those who ship bales pay for them at the rate of

[189] That is, on the route by the "Northern Sea," the Atlantic Ocean.

twelve and fifteen pesos, they have many advantages [over the rest].

DON PEDRO SEBASTIAN DE VOLIBAR Y MENA

Extract from a letter written by Father Luis Pimentel to Father Manuel Rodriguez, procurator-general of Indias, from Manila, February 8, 1686.

Don Juan de Vargas was excommunicated and placed on the public list by Archbishop Pardo; he thereupon came before the Audiencia. That court demanded that the archbishop show them his acts, which he did not do. A royal decree was sent to him; he replied that he could not send the act that he had issued against Don Juan de Vargas, since he had to send it to a superior tribunal – that is, to the tribunal of the Inquisition. The auditors sent him a second decree; he replied that he was encumbered with affairs of more importance than those of Don Juan de Vargas, and could not make [formal] answer. They sent a third one, commanding him to send such answer; he replied that the doings of Don Juan de Vargas were public and manifest, so that it was not necessary to enact anything against him, and accordingly he had no documents to send them. The secretary of the Audiencia notified him of the fourth decree, and had orders to read it to the archbishop, but not to give it to him, because the three former decrees had remained in his hands without his making any answer. The secretary was told, however, that if the archbishop should demand a certified copy, he should give him one and bring back the royal decree; but the archbishop declared that if the decree were not surrendered to him he

would not answer it. As he did not render obedience to the four decrees, his Majesty commanded, by his royal decrees, that the archbishop should be declared banished from the kingdoms. The governor went to talk with him, to start him, as they say on the road; and it is said that he found him obstinate.

Now follows the fiction that they made arrangements, in order that the governor might not consider himself obliged to undo what had been done,[140] by recalling the sentence of banishment, and bringing the archbishop to Manila. They ordered that all the estates of this community should go to entreat the governor that the archbishop should not be exiled; and the same persons went on this errand who [afterward] bemired themselves in causing the archbishop to return to Manila. These men went about talking and declaiming to everyone in the community about the great difficulties, both spiritual and temporal, which must follow from [the banishment]; but in reality all these were fantastical, since there would be no further difficulties than those which the governor chose – as there were none when the archbishop was banished the previous time;[141] for one would hardly believe how great is the hatred that most persons feel toward the archbishop and his officials, and to the Dominican friars. The Order of St. Francis was remiss in making this request, but an auditor brought them to terms, as well as the members of the cabildos, both ecclesiastical and secular. The most difficult thing was to subdue the

[140] The Spanish phrase inverts this order of thought, *hacer lo que habia deshecho.*

[141] Referring to the exile of Archbishop Guerrero in 1636.

Jesuits. A bishop who was a great friend of ours charged himself with this task, and easily persuaded the vice-provincial and the consultors; but I always have been of opinion that we ought to pursue an even course – for I immediately saw the trick, and that he was setting a trap for us, as actually happened. Finally the vice-provincial and another father went, because I excused myself from going in company with the other orders. With them went Don Fray Juan Duran, a religious of the Order of Mercy and bishop of Sinopolis; it was he who in the name of all the orders made the address, setting forth the serious difficulties that must ensue in spiritual and temporal affairs. This petition being ended, the snare began; the governor told them to draw up a paper in which they were to set forth the causes that led them to make the request, and that all the orders should sign it – which converted the petition into advice, and he did the same with the other estates, even with the military leaders.

The [preparation of the] paper which the orders were to sign was entrusted to one of the bemired ones, the provincial of the Augustinian Recollects; but what he wrote was so unsatisfactory that even the bishop of Sinopolis – who was active in carrying on this affair for the governor, on account of being his intimate friend – did not like it; and the bishop himself therefore drew up the paper, which was signed by all the orders except the Society. Ours preferred to make its own answer, separately; we did so, and I send [a copy of it] with this.

News since the year 1688

1. It is asked that the contents of this document may be read attentively; the writer asserts that it is not his intention that corporal injury shall come to the guilty, but only that the truth may be known and these many evils be set forth.

2. Early in January of the said year, very secret conferences were held in the palace, in which Bobadilla, Atienza, and Cervantes took part – all opposed to the auditors, to Zalaeta and Lezama, and to Don Juan de Vargas. They began to favor the designs of the archbishop, and the governor to act despotically, according to the dictation of Verart.

3. The result of the said conferences was the imprisonment of Zalaeta and Lezama, on the twenty-second of January. Their property was sequestered, and with great cruelty their papers were seized; and they were very closely confined in the fort. He [142] asked for a confessor from the Society, but the governor would not grant this, only consenting that he might confess to one of three fathers whom he designated; these were Juan Gonzalez, Don Esteban Olmedo – adherents of himself and the Dominicans – and Doctor Atienza, brother of the Atienza already named.

4. Toledo denounced Don Juan Zalaeta, saying that he gave him a pasquinade so that he could publish it, which was of the following tenor: The governor was seated on a chair, with his favorites Endaya and Verart at his side; at his feet lay the king, his head cut off, and his hands disjointed. This

[142] Thus in the text, indicating some omission, probably by the transcriber.

picture explains the state of affairs, which is expressed by the verses that appear below.[143]

5. The cause of Lezama's imprisonment was a paper which they attributed to him, although it was not known with certainty that he had written it; and both tribunals proceeded against him – the government with imprisonment and sequestration, the archbishop with censures; the two powers agreed very well.

6. Guards were placed in the house of Lezama,

[143] The verses do not appear in our text. Diaz states (p. 787) that Zalaeta gave the pasquinades to Captain José de Toledo to distribute among the soldiers; but instead of doing so Toledo gave them to Endaya, who handed them to the governor. It was afterward proved that the author of the lampoons was the cantor Herrera, who was thereupon imprisoned; later, he was sent to the fort of Paynauen in the Zambal country, where Zalaeta had been sent after his arrest for conspiracy.

The Jesuit Father Pedro de Salazar wrote from (Manila) Taitay, on the nineteenth [*sic*] of 1687, to the procurator-general at Madrid, Luis de Morales, that he was warned from Manila to be careful of what he wrote, since they feared that there would be an inspection of the letters [in the mails]. He said that since the return of Archbishop Pardo from banishment many arrests were made: of the auditors, to whom they attributed a pasquinade which had been posted; of negroes and Indians, servants and slaves, who were put to the torture, in order that they might say what suited the convenience [of the authorities]; and of ecclesiastics. Also, that a pasquinade had been published, in which was represented the king, stretched upon the ground, with the archbishop drawing off his breeches; the governor was stabbing him with a dagger, or else cutting off his head; Father Verart held him by the legs; and Andaya, who was the minion, was helping them. It concluded with the verses:

"A Catalan and a Frenchman,
A foolish governor,
A pastor who is no pastor –
These hold me as you see."

Finally, the Dominican friars have entire sway over the archbishops, and are talking of finding out who are the authors of the papers that were published against them. (Ventura del Arco MSS., iii, pp. 639, 640.)

from which resulted some extravagant remarks by Doña Josefa, the wife of Bolivar; and these set in motion what will be hereafter related. The wife of Lezama presented a document to the governor, asking for what reason her husband had been imprisoned; he sent the paper to an alcalde-in-ordinary. The said wife had recourse to the Audiencia, who commanded the said alcalde to deliver up the documents under penalty of five hundred pesos, but he resorted to the governor, who forbade him to obey, and imposed a penalty of two thousand pesos if he should surrender the documents.

7. On the same day the governor summoned the auditors to a session and conference, and with language of anger and rage informed them that the alcalde was proceeding by his orders in the said imprisonments, and even that they were involved in the same charges. At this they were struck with great fear, with good reason dreading the governor's outrageous manner of proceeding; and to this fear that some calamity would happen to them also were added the reports that were current of the dungeons that were being prepared, of various persons whom he was arresting and examining, etc.

8. The auditors, now terrorized, secretly retired one night to the college of the Society of Jesus, and carried with them the fiscal, in order to consult as to the measures of which they should avail themselves to secure their persons from the tyranny of the governor, and whether they should remain in the said college in order to administer justice from that place, etc. They could not reach a decision in the matter, and with the same secrecy they returned to their houses; and afterward the fiscal sold them.

9. The reasons for the governor's hatred against Don Diego de Viga were: his having proposed that the ship which served for the armada should make a voyage in the year 1686, which was contrary to the governor's purposes; and his proposal in the Audiencia that a consultation should be held with the governor in regard to a packet of letters from the king which were said to have arrived, in which there were decisions of the utmost importance – which letters, it is supposed, the governor tried to hold back and conceal.

10. He entertained ill-will against Bolivar for having replied with independence and decision to an act of which he was notified on the part of the bishop, in which he threatened the auditor with fearful excommunications and pecuniary fine, because the said auditor protected the interests of the royal patronage in the suit which the Augustinians brought against the Society in regard to the village of Jesus de la Peña, and challenged the jurisdiction of the said archbishop in this case.

11. The governor[144] set spies on the steps and actions of the auditors, and seized a bit of paper, without signature, which Bolivar was sending to Viga, in which he informed the latter that they could not trust the fiscal, who had that very day taken dinner with the governor; and that he presumed the fiscal had betrayed them, disclosing their consultation above mentioned.

12. The governor conjured from this bit of

[144] Diaz says (p. 787) that the governor himself, concealed in a window of his palace, watched Viga's house, and saw Bolivar's servant enter it; this man was arrested on leaving the house, and searched, a letter from Viga to Bolivar being found in his shoe. Thereupon the auditors and Zalaeta were promptly arrested.

paper many mysteries; he arrested the page who carried it, and commanded that the fiscal be summoned. He planned the exile of the auditors, with the seizure of their property and papers – in all of which meddled Cervantes, who was an enemy of the royal Audiencia, and known as such; and now was elevated to be the favorite of the governor by the favor of the Dominicans, in order to be judge in the most important lawsuits of this commonwealth.

13. On February 7 of the said year, the day following the above incident, they seized Don Diego de Viga, and conveyed him to Mariveles, a village in charge of the Dominicans, where he stayed in a mean hut. From that place he went to Lucban, a village belonging to the same friars, where he remained in close confinement and lacking the necessary comforts; they allowed him not even an Indian servant who had remained with him. All this severity was practiced on him, notwithstanding that (as was notorious) the said auditor was so burdened with sickness and infirmities that in the judgment of intelligent persons he could not hold out three months in Lucban. The commandant shamefully treated a brother of the Society, who accidentally passed through that place, because he gave the said auditor a little linen and some paper, which the prisoner entreated for the love of God – which it is said, was taken from him and sent to the governor; and that sacrilegious man even had the brother sent there a prisoner and in fetters.

14. On the same day and the following one, they searched for Bolivar in various houses; for, when he learned what was being plotted against them, he had concealed himself. They surrounded his house, with

a large force of soldiers; and because Doña Josefa and her sister spoke some saucy words, in regard to certain questions that were asked them, they were banished with much severity, and conveyed to the village of Abucay, a village in charge of the Dominicans.[145] Doña Josefa was sent first, and afterward her sister Doña Ynes, on account of the latter being very ill when they carried away her sister.

15. The governor learned that Don Pedro Bolivar was in the college of the Society of Jesus, and availed himself of his good friend the archbishop to remove the auditor from sanctuary. The archbishop readily assented to whatever he demanded; indeed, he has left no stone unturned to injure the Society of Jesus. They surrounded the college of the Society with a great number of soldiers, within and without, who caused the religious incredible vexations and troubles during the nine days while this blockade lasted. The [archbishop's] provisor was on hand to incite the soldiers and make mischief; and he notified the rector of an act by the archbishop requiring him to surrender Bolivar.

16. The city and all the religious orders, except that of St. Dominic, showed great resentment at this performance and felt exceedingly scandalized. The governor, as obstinate as Pharaoh, said that he would not remove the blockade from the Society's house until Bolivar should make his appearance, if it lasted a year; and that he intended to destroy the

[145] Diaz says (pp. 786, 788) that Doña Josefa "ruled her husband more than was desirable," and that "she uttered such contemptuous reproaches against the governor and the archbishop, as she was a very resolute and spirited woman, and extremely haughty and fearless," that the governor felt obliged to send her into banishment.

auditor. The latter, seeing the constraint and uneasiness of the religious, and the obstinacy of the governor and the archbishop, gave himself up of his own accord; and they took him away from sanctuary in great haste, and carried him to the municipal building; and afterward, near midnight, he was sent by boat to Mariveles, with the same harshness which they had showed to Auditor Viga.

17. The convenient pretext and imaginary reasons which they gave for these seizures were that those auditors intended to depose the governor, and hand over his office to General Zalaeta. It was proved that this plan would not suit the actual condition of affairs, even in the judgment of a man of mediocre ability, much less in that of the auditors; and even if such a thing were intended, they would find it impossible to secure the means for its execution, since all the military leaders were of the governor's faction and opposed to the auditors.

18. Crafty actions, intrigues, seizures, and severities were employed with persons of various stations, in order to give some semblance of proof to the above fantastic idea; and they terrorized many persons, to make them relate, if possible, what suited their purpose, and no more. Some they tortured; others were left without food for two or three days; and one they deprived of drink for seventeen days. Most of the persons thus examined had little courage, and were sons of fear, so they found it easy to tell lies; and if they were under compulsion they would say that Judas and Mahoma were in heaven.

19. The governor soon found himself embarrassed by the lack of an Audiencia; he therefore formed one in his own way, which was thoroughly

accommodated to his opinions. It was composed thus: a fiscal so terrified and possessed by fear that, if he were commanded to flog an image of Christ, apparently he would not hesitate to do so; one Cervantes, as coadjutor to the fiscal, a young fellow of malicious disposition and perverse inclinations, who not many years before had been condemned to death; one Angulo, in everything a man after Cervantes's own heart – young and of little understanding; and of so little ability that neither when he was a receptor of the Audiencia, nor now when filling the office of attorney-general [*promotor-fiscal*], did he know what to do, etc.

20. Among the papers of Zalaeta was found one, which was imputed to the cantor Herrera, in which he spoke ill of Endaya; and on this account the archbishop demanded aid from the governor, seized Herrera,[146] and placed him in the fort – treating him with ignominy unusual for [a member of] the cabildo, placing him under the guard of secular officials, and treating him like a highwayman. Yet the said archbishop had previously favored him, and regarded lightly other offenses of his – for no other reason than because Herrera had, to please the archbishop and his friars, drawn up documents expressing, in positive terms, detestation of appeals to the royal Audiencia.

21. With these scandals and harsh measures, the city experienced profound affliction; the minds of the people were appalled, and they were so shut in by fears and terrors that no one considered himself safe even in his own house. No one opened his lips, seeing the two powers of the commonwealth thus

[146] Regarding Herrera's arrest, see note 63, *ante*, p. 159.

jumbled together, and that in the greatest calamities there was no recourse except to God. The inhabitants could not communicate with one another, without criticism; nor was it even lawful to breathe, since rigorous scrutiny was made of the most trifling acts.

22. Great were the calamities which at this time came unexpectedly upon this commonwealth – epidemics, famines, vessels returning to port, [attacks by] enemies, losses of vessels. The governor the more pretended that his conduct was influenced by an imaginary conspiracy; for on the night of Holy Thursday, when he went to visit the stations [of the cross], a multitude of soldiers went with him as escort, besides his usual guard, and he was accompanied by the personages who were in league with him.

23. Royal decrees were despatched against the preachers who zealously proclaimed from the pulpits the arbitrary and malicious character of the recent acts, and the Dominicans alone had the privilege to utter whatever absurdities they pleased in the pulpits. There is no counterpart to the satire against the Society which a [father from] Santo Tomas preached one day.

24. Recourse to the royal Audiencia was entirely barred, as was seen in the case of Don Juan de Vargas, who thus far had been posted on the list of excommunicates, and all persons who held intercourse with him threatened with punishment. Tardiness and delay followed him until the fourth decree [was issued] in regard to his absolution, and it had no result – as little carried out as was the king's decree which he issued in regard to the banishment of the archbishop.

25. In Cagayan Fray Raimundo de Rosa killed Fray Juan Zambrano, his vicar and superior; but the archbishop has not made any demonstration [of displeasure], although he has so often done so in the more venial offenses of the clerics. The Order of St. Dominic has honored the Dominicans who were most rebellious against the king with the best offices in the provincial chapter; and those of their following, like Aduna, Gonzalez, Carballo, Cervantes, and others, are now in high favor, although they are hostile to the prerogatives of his Majesty.

26. No authentic statement of the evil deeds of these years can be sent to the court; for the scriveners are intimidated and will not give official statements of anything of what occurs, except what may be in favor of the governor and the archbishop. *Item*, [this] is written in much distrust and fear, on account of the numerous spies who go about prying into and noting everything that is done. One notary is in prison on account of a statement that he drew up; and another is in exile.

27. The governor causes many scandals in the matter of chastity, not sparing any woman, whatever may be her rank or condition; and he keeps some worthless women who serve as procuresses for conveying to him those whose society will give him most pleasure. In this scandal the zeal of neither the archbishop nor his friars is active.

28. The governor will hinder the voyage of the ship to Nueva España, on account of the fabulous ships which, it is reported, have been seen, according to the statement of an Indian, although there is no confirmation of such news. The great amount that

was spent in the despatch of the armada, as the capitana of which the ship "Santo Niño" sailed, without having the desired result; the malicious purpose with which the said despatch was conducted, on account of his having had information by way of Yndia which caused this government to hasten.

29. As the archbishop would not absolve Don Juan de Vargas, the Audiencia again decided to banish him; but the governor kept the royal decree signed and sealed, without being willing that it be put into execution. Instead, he joined with the bishop of Sinopolis to convoke the religious orders, planning that they demand that he be not banished. An inquiry was made among his partisans, who swore that they knew nothing of it, and had not imagined it.

30. The archbishop prevented the confirmation of three prebends which his Majesty had presented – to Don Francisco Gutierrez Briceno, Bachelor Domingo de Valencia, and Doctor Pedro de Silva; the first-named for cantor, the second for schoolmaster, the third for treasurer. He refused to give them canonical installation, because they are not among his admirers; and the last two are graduates from the university of the Society of Jesus.

31. The Augustinians, in alliance with the archbishop and his friars, brought suit against the Society in regard to the administration of Jesus de la Peña, or Mariquina. The numerous disputes [*dares et tomares*] which have occurred in this lawsuit, and the great eagerness with which the archbishop has tried to favor the Augustinians; and finally, against all the right that the Society had to such ministry – by

royal decree, by permission from Señor Arce, and by permit of the vice-patron, etc.– he has despoiled them of it with violence, and by the aid which the governor allowed him for tearing down and demolishing the church of the said fathers; and he has adjudged it to the Augustinians, because the hatred and aversion which he has to the said order [of the Jesuits] is implacable.

32. The archbishop mortified the religious of St. Francis; on account of regarding them as favorable to the royal patronage, he forbade them [to celebrate] the feast of the tears of that saint, and he has not granted them many permissions which they asked from him. He deprived them of the celebration of the feast of the Conception in the jail; and finally, on the day of St. Stephen the protomartyr, he gave them his congratulations on that feast by causing to be read an edict against them, in which he suspended their licenses to hear confessions and preach. All this caused great uneasiness in the minds of the people, and gave just cause for the murmur against the said archbishop that he had, by the measures here rèlated, undertaken to revenge himself on all those persons who, as he fancied, had taken part in his exile, or had in any way approved it.

33. They attempt to absolve Auditor Calderon in the hour of death in what he replied, and what the Dominicans did, and how the governor pretended not to notice it. It seems as if the governor had come to the islands for nothing else than to encourage the Dominicans in their rebellious acts, to trample on the laws, to abolish recourse to the royal Audiencia, to sow dissension, to be a tyrant, to disturb the peace, and to enable the archbishop to secure whatever he

wishes, even though he imposes so grievous a captivity on the commonwealth.[147]

Felipe Pardo as archbishop

[The Dominican side of this controversy is related by Salazar, one of the official historians of that order, in his *Hist. Sant. Rosario*, pp. 490-513 (chapters xviii-xxi); as this account is long, it is presented here partly in full translation, partly in synopsis.]

On the fourth day of August in the year 1677, dedicated to our glorious patriarch St. Dominic, a royal decree was received in Manila in which our Catholic monarch Don Carlos II appointed for archbishop of Manila father Fray Felipe Pardo – who that year had completed his second provincialate and now was filling the post of commissary of the Holy Office. In the latter office he had given, before this second provincialate, such proofs of good judgment that report of his abilities had reached Madrid; and these alone, without any other backing, had procured for him so high a dignity. The choice of him [as bishop] was received in this community with universal acclamation and applause, on account of the esteem that was merited by his abilities, accredited by the experience that all had of his success and discretion in government – not only in the two provincialates which he had obtained, but also, as I

[147] This and several other documents that are unsigned are presented here – accepting them as credible, on account of their evident authenticity – in order to fill out the relation of the Pardo controversy with relations made at the time, and by participants in those events. All except the final extract from Salazar are obtained from Ventura del Arco's transcripts from MSS. in the collection of Jesuit papers that was seized by the Spanish government when it expelled that order from Spain and her colonies.

have indicated, in the commissariat of the Inquisition; all therefore confidently expected in him a prelate discreet and accomplished in all respects. Our father Fray Felipe Pardo alone, distrustful of his suitability for that office – either on account of his sixty-seven years of age, or in view of the difficulty of the task – was greatly perplexed about accepting it. Indeed, it was necessary at the end of two months, to make requisition on him, in accordance with the rules established by the councils regarding immediate acceptance by those thus appointed, under penalty of the appointment being annulled, and the see being again declared vacant. [He finally accepts (November 11 of that year) the dignity of archbishop, and by special decree of the king enters on his duties before being consecrated (which occurs on October 28, 1681), "the first archbishop who has governed this archbishopric without being consecrated, and the first who has been consecrated in these islands." Having spent thirty years in that country, he has much knowledge of it and of its moral and social conditions, and much experience in ecclesiastical government. "He was very learned in theology, whether speculative or practical, moral or scholastic; and very expert in the despatch of business." He is aided in his duties by Fray Raymundo Berart, very learned in canon and civil law, who has left great opportunities of advancement in España "to come to this poor province, to serve in the ministry of souls – as he actually learned the Tagal language, and spent some time in ministering to the Indians in the district of Batan."]

The church of this archbishopric was in great need of reform, being full of pernicious abuses,

which had been introduced by vicious practices, shielded by permitted usage; so that now these alleged right of possession, and that which was public and practiced by many was regarded as lawful and allowable. False oaths were regarded, not heeding this despite to the holy name of God, as a matter of kindness, in exchange for not injuring another person by the denunciation of his sins; and the oath which the judges take not to engage in trade was regularly broken, without there being any one who had scruples in doing so. The friendships and intimacies between the two sexes were so prevalent that the excessive familiarity which was causing so many scandals was already no occasion for them [*i.e.*, in public opinion]. Executorships were hereditary, despoiling minors of their property, and never rendering accounts [of those trusts]. Trading had found its way among the ecclesiastics, notwithstanding the ordinance [*constitucion*] of Clement IX recently published in these islands; and at like pace all the vices gained sway, without the least scruple or reparation, since established practice and custom had now rendered those vices tolerated. [To remedy these evils, the archbishop vigorously devotes his energies, notwithstanding his age.]

The first action with which his illustrious Lordship began to carry out this plan in the government of his archbishopric was, to reconcile his cabildo with the royal Audiencia in a certain controversy between them. This was, whether they should give the gospel to be kissed, not only by the auditor who then provisionally held the government of these islands (he was Don Francisco Mansilla), but also by his associate, Doctor Don Diego Calderon. As

soon as the archbishop began to rule, he settled this dispute with great sagacity, and much to the satisfaction of both sides. Afterward another strife arose between the ecclesiastical estate and the royal officials, because, at the time of paying the former their stipends, these were curtailed on account of the exemption from the mesada which had been conceded by his Holiness to our Catholic king; and, the amount of what the ecclesiastics ought to contribute on account of this privilege not being liquidated, the official royal judges had acted illegally in the collection of the said mesada, making themselves judges in their own cause by explaining the bull of his Holiness without consenting to show it to the interested parties, although the latter had several times demanded this. But our archbishop, recognizing that what the royal officials were collecting was excessive, and that it belonged to his office and dignity to explain the doubts that might arise in the text of the apostolic bulls, compelled the royal official judges, by dint of monitory decrees and censures, to display that privilege; and when it was seen, it was found that they had collected more than they should for several years past. All this he made them restore, with considerable advantage to the ecclesiastics, who were extremely grateful for the zealous activity of his illustrious Lordship.

In almost all the Indias were being celebrated the masses which they call "masses for Christmas," [148] mingling with them certain abuses which contami-

[148] Spanish, *missas de Aguinaldo* means "a Christmas or New Year's present;" the word is derived, according to Echegaray's *Diccionario general etimológico* (Madrid, 1887), from the Celtic word *eguinand*, of the above meaning. Evidently these masses were made the vehicle for heathen allusions or symbols, if not for actual rites.

nated these masses with practices that were superstitious, and contrary to the holy rites of the church. These were tolerated under the cloak of devotion, and, although to some they appeared mischievous, they did not dare to rebuke these rites in public lest they excite against themselves the pious feelings of the common people, and as this matter was one of those which belong to the zeal and foresight of the ecclesiastical superiors. Finally the holy Congregation of Rites, in consequence of the representations made by zealous persons, on January 16 in the year 1677 declared the said "masses for Christmas" to be not only opposed to the rubrics, but also cause for scandals, and of superstitious nature, on account of certain ballads that were interwoven with them, and other like abuses. This decree of the Congregation arrived in these islands in the year eighty; acting in conformity thereto, the archbishop prohibited the said masses in his archbishopric. They were no longer celebrated while his illustrious Lordship lived, although afterward they were again established, but with some abatement – I know not whether it was so everywhere – of the abuses which formerly were customary. He also prohibited under severe penalties the practice of bringing sick persons to the church to receive holy communion by way of viaticum – a custom introduced into these islands from the infancy of their Christian faith. It had never been entirely uprooted, although ordinances against it had been issued by various zealous prelates in their decrees, and by our Catholic monarchs in their royal cedulas – commanding that the holy viaticum should be carried to the houses of the sick, even though they were poor and of low estate, as are the natives of

these islands. And because the previous ordinances of the king our sovereign on this subject had not had the desired effect, his Majesty again repeated his commands in a royal decree of July 28, 1681, in which he charged our archbishop to banish this abuse, the custom of carrying the sick to the church to receive the holy viaticum, on account of the difficulties which might follow from it. In accordance with this, our archbishop promulgated an edict throughout his diocese, dated September 5, 1682, commanding that all the parish priests should carry the viaticum to the sick, without permitting them to be brought to the church; and although he received from the parish priests entreaties and arguments on this point, his illustrious Lordship did not listen to them, but courageously proceeded in his holy undertaking.

Besides those exceedingly just measures, at the instance of the royal Audiencia of these islands his illustrious Lordship promulgated an edict – which was affixed to the doors of the churches, with penalty of major excommunication – that all executors of wills must within two months present before his tribunal the said wills, which had not been inspected for fourteen years past; and so numerous were those that were presented – not to mention others dating back to forgotten times, which were not yet accomplished – that they gave him work sufficient for several years. He issued other edicts and monitory decrees in regard to the denunciation of various crimes, and so many of these were continually disclosed that soon the ecclesiastical tribunal was filled with cases, and the numerous officials in its employ could not make room for the legal proceedings therein. Very

scandalous lives were revealed, and criminal suits were begun; but these could not be prosecuted on account of appeals and subterfuges which caused delay.

He who attempts to correct abuses and scandals finds it necessary to equip himself with courage to meet the hostilities which he will encounter; for abuses which have already become inveterate, and scandals favored by indulgence, cannot be overcome without strenuous efforts and repeated conflicts. Such was the case of a certain prebend whom the predecessor of his illustrious Lordship had tried to correct, but had never been able to do so on account of the support that the delinquent received from a certain potent personage; accordingly the archbishop's zeal contented itself with giving information of the whole matter to the king our sovereign – who issued on this matter a royal decree commanding the said archbishop to correct the scandalous acts of that prebend, without fear or regard for any power. As this royal decree arrived at Manila when the said archbishop was already dead, the king our sovereign despatched another decree to our archbishop-elect, Don Fray Felipe Pardo, very earnestly recommending to him the correction of the transgressions of the said prebend.[149] Notwithstanding the activity of our archbishop, he could not end the proceedings in this case for eight years, on account of the evasions of the culprit, and the protection that he found in the officials of the royal Audiencia, who at every step forbade our archbishop to take any further steps in the prosecution of the suits, thus preventing his holy

[149] This was the treasurer (and afterward cantor) of the cathedral, Jerónimo de Herrera y Figueroa.

zeal from successfully checking abuses and scandals.

This was made more plainly evident in the suit regarding another ecclesiastic, the cura of Bigan, against whom the provisor appointed by his illustrious Lordship (since the government of that bishopric pertained to him) began to institute proceedings in a criminal suit, in consequence of various denunciations and accusations. As the culprit was on intimate terms with one of the auditors, the latter managed the affair so dexterously that he caused the issue of a royal decree in which the royal Audiencia commanded the archbishop to remove thence [*i.e.*, from Vigan] the said provisor and oblige him to reside in the city of Lalo – all to the end that he should not proceed in the suit. This measure was ineffectual, on account of the reply and representations made by the archbishop; the provisor therefore proceeded in his suit. The delinquent, finding himself in a tight place, fled from Bigan and came to Manila; and, when he was arrested by the archbishop for this flight, he demanded to be released on bail – which his illustrious Lordship granted, by an act in which he designated the city as the prisoner's bounds until his suit should be ended. The culprit consented to this, thanking his illustrious Lordship for this concession, and therewith submitting to his tribunal. Affairs being in this condition, there came [in 1680], with proprietary appointment as bishop-elect of Nueva Segovia, a prebend of this holy church, who was an intimate friend of the culprit; the latter, availing himself of this opportunity, undertook to shake off the yoke of his illustrious Lordship's authority with an appeal to the new bishop-elect – who, desiring to shelter the other, demanded from the

archbishop the acts [which he had issued]. As his illustrious Lordship did not choose to furnish these – as this suit was firmly established, by the consent of the delinquent himself, in his metropolitan tribunal – the new bishop had recourse to the royal Audiencia, asking them to command the archbishop to deliver the acts. In virtue of the representation made by the new bishop, a royal decree was despatched to Señor Pardo, in which he was commanded to deliver the said acts to the bishop of Nueva Segovia; his illustrious Lordship answered this by saying that the suit proceedings therein were already established in his own tribunal by the delinquent having accepted certain acts, and the law, therefore, afforded no occasion for removing this suit and the proceedings therein from the tribunal of the metropolitan, and restoring it to the culprit's ordinary judge. His illustrious Lordship well knew that all these were frivolous measures of delay, so that the case might not reach the point of sentence, and the scandals should be left without restraint; accordingly, although the second and the third royal decrees on this matter were served upon him, he never consented to yield his rights, or to acquiesce in the illegal commands laid upon him. For this cause the officials of the royal Audiencia issued a fourth royal ordinance and decree, condemning our archbishop to exile; this sentence was not executed at the time, but with occasion of the new emergencies which afterward arose, it was enforced with severity in the following year.

Now that the archbishop was on bad terms with the royal Audiencia, it was easy for the subordinates of his illustrious Lordship to have recourse to this

supreme tribunal in order to challenge the jurisdiction or appeal from the proceedings of the ecclesiastical judge; and therefore royal decrees were continually emanating, forbidding our archbishop to prosecute suits and proceedings, and commanding him to deliver up the documents regarding them – by which the course of the suits was hindered or delayed. His illustrious Lordship answered these requisitions with so much clearness and proof that the officials who issued them often considered themselves vanquished, and did not follow up their efforts; and although they resented what they called rebellion and audacity, they found his opposition so justified by law that they did not dare to condemn him for disobedience, no matter how much they chose to give his conduct this title to outsiders – for these tribunals are not accustomed to hear "no" to what they ordain in the name of the king our sovereign. And knowing that the greater force of the replies and representations of the archbishop depended on the assistance of the consultor, father Fray Raymundo Berart, they strove to separate the latter from his side, in order that his illustrious Lordship, destitute of this aid, might be reduced with more blind submission to the decrees and despatches of the royal Audiencia; and therefore that court issued a mandate demanding and requiring our archbishop to remove from his side Father Berart, and another to the same effect, addressed to our provincial, to assign that father to a ministry among the Indians. Suitable reply was made to both these decrees, without causing any change, for the time, in the aspect of affairs – until, a new occasion and emergency arising, they again insisted upon this point.

At the first foundation of Manila, only two parishes were formed for the Spaniards – one for those who lived within the walls, and another for those who lived outside the city, this latter being located in a place where at that time most of them were wont to live. Afterward that site appeared to them unsuitable for the conveniences of human life, and so they went to live in another part of the city, and even on the other side of the river which washes it. Consequently, they lived very far from their parish church, and suffered great inconvenience in attending it, because it was necessary for the administration of the sacraments that the parish priest should cross the entire city, or make the circuit of its walls, and finally he had to cross the river. As this often had to be done at night, and at other times with the risk of being drowned through the fury of the winds and waves, it was soon evident how great difficulty there must be in giving prompt aid to the sick – especially as the distance of the parish church was so great that many parishioners lived half a legua from it. On this account the burials also were solemnized with extreme inconvenience, and without the processional order which is the custom of the church. Besides this, it caused great confusion that the Spaniard who was owner of the house should belong to the said parish, and the servants, whether Indians or negroes, to that of the territory in which they happened to be. The Spaniards also were ashamed of having a parish church so poor and in so wretched a condition, for it was only a shelter of bamboos covered with nipa. For these reasons the parishioners had at various times asked that they might be joined to the parishes in which they lived;

and now, on the occasion of a controversy which arose between the said cura and another parish priest over the question, to which of them belonged [the interment of] a deceased person, the Spaniards publicly appeared before the ordinary, asking that he would assign the parish churches according to the territories, in accordance with the custom throughout the church. When this request was considered by his illustrious Lordship, he gave information of it, and a copy of the petition, to the vice-patron, to whom this matter pertained by law. The governor showed this to the fiscal of his Majesty, who approved the desired change; and with this decision the governor decreed that the parishes should be divided according to the territories. He gave commission for this to his illustrious Lordship, who divided and allotted the parishes in the suburbs of Manila, with the system and order which are observed to this day – declaring that to each parish church belonged all the persons who dwelt in its territory, whether Spaniards, Indians, or negroes.

Notwithstanding that this arrangement was in every way so judicious, and had been made by the order of the vice-patron, with the approval and advice of the auditor fiscal, the former cura of the Spaniards considered it an injury and injustice, casting the blame for it all on his illustrious Lordship; and, making common cause with the clergy, he continued to disturb and disquiet their minds, until finally the cabildo arrogated to itself authority, interposing a letter to his illustrious Lordship that was very offensive to his dignity, complaining of the severity of his government, in terms that libeled his uprightness, and other expressions that were very

unbecoming and inappropriate to the dignity of a cabildo. Accordingly, for the sake of their reputation, his illustrious Lordship was not willing to make the document public, and he only showed it privately to the governor of these islands – who was deeply irritated at what they had done, and promised all his protection to the archbishop for correcting his prebends. The archbishop did not choose to avail himself of this aid, because he intended to bring them back to sober judgment by means of kindness and gentle treatment. He therefore replied to his cabildo with another pastoral letter, couched in affectionate terms, and full of learning and paternal affection, in which he gently admonished them to recognize and correct their error. Again they wrote to his illustrious Lordship, in more submissive tone, although it was apparently only to pay him compliments; for almost on the same day they appeared before the royal Audiencia with another document, making complaint against their prelate of injuries, and saying that although they had represented these to his illustrious Lordship, he had not answered them to the point. The effect of this petition was, that the royal Audiencia issued new commands, not only to the archbishop but to the father provincial of this province, that father Fray Raymundo Berart (of whom the cabildo bitterly complained) must leave his association with his illustrious Lordship, and depart to the ministries among the Indians; this was carried out (at the instance of the father himself), in order to wreak the wrath of those who were in power. On this occasion the royal Audiencia also ordered that a secret investigation be made of the lives and conduct of our religious, commencing with

the archbishop; and, although a beginning was made in the fabrication of this information, the plan soon fell through on account of another and public report which was made, by command of the archbishop, in favor of the religious – in which their reputation was so well vindicated by testimony that those who undertook to blacken it through the secret inquiry were left confounded and abashed.

All these occurrences that we have mentioned were preludes and omens of some outbreak; for the minds of the people were disquieted, and jealousy of the archbishop was plainly evident on the part, not only of the clergy, but of the secular government. They were eager for some fresh opportunity to arise for them to take extreme measures at once against the archbishop, or at least against the religious of this province. This soon occurred, in a sermon that was preached in the cathedral by a certain religious,[150] in which he explained moral principles that were pertinent to the disorders then prevailing. The auditors, who were present, began to resent this; and one of them urged the governor to send a message to his illustrious Lordship, asking him to order the preacher to leave the pulpit. The governor did so, in fact: but he himself assumed authority to do this, before his illustrious Lordship's answer came, and ordered the preacher to stop his sermon, and proceed with mass – an act extremely injurious to the dignity of the archbishop, that in his own church, and before his eyes, the governor (a secular official, too) should interfere to give commands to the ministers of the church. But his illustrious Lordship was obliged to overlook this, in order not to cause greater disturb-

[150] This was the Dominican friar Francisco Villalba.

ances or expose his episcopal dignity to the insults of those who had already, it appears, pronounced judgments in defiance of the courts of the church, and were only awaiting an opportunity to assail his jurisdiction and dignity. His illustrious Lordship did not choose to afford this to them, at that time, although zeal stimulated him to defend the honor of the mitre; for affairs were now in such condition that he would [by doing so] cause more injury than benefit.

Notwithstanding the tolerance and patience of the archbishop, on the second day after the sermon sentence was passed in the royal Audiencia, in accordance with the representations made by the ecclesiastical cabildo, against the preacher, condemning him to imprisonment and to banishment from these islands. This was carried out on the following day; Villalba was arrested in his convent of Binondoc and conveyed through the public streets, being finally placed on board a vessel, in which he was sent to a remote island until the time should come for embarking him for Nueva España. This was accomplished in due time, with great injury and hardship to that religious, and not less grief to the archbishop at seeing such dreadful disorders, and even his zeal powerless to remedy them; for these disturbances had now reached such a point, and his subordinates had now become so hard-hearted and rebellious, that they had already lost their dread of [committing] sacrilegious acts, and did not fear to lay violent hands on the persons of ecclesiastics and religious. Accordingly, foreseeing from these acts of violence that which might result to his own person if some new occasion should arise, his prudence caused him to

prepare beforehand for what might occur in such an emergency, by an act which he drew up with the utmost secrecy, dated on the twenty-second of the same month of January in the year 1682. By this act he appointed, for any such occasion, as governor of the archbishopric the illustrious Don Fray Gines Barrientos, bishop of Troya and his own assistant; and made other arrangements – which were mild and reasonable, and worthy of his apostolic zeal, piety, and gentleness – that would tend to quiet the disturbances which would arise from any such act of violence, and to favor absolution from the censures which would necessarily be incurred by persons who should commit such acts of irreverence. All this was laid away and kept with great secrecy until the following year, in which occurred the imprisonment of the archbishop.

These melancholy events did not daunt the fervent courage of his illustrious Lordship; rather, with apostolic valor and zeal he proceeded in the correction of evil deeds, notwithstanding that he had reliable information that his case was already concluded in the royal Audiencia and sentence of banishment pronounced against him. He was continually menaced with the execution of this sentence, at every new difficulty which might arise – in this being like the great pastor Jesus Christ, who, the nearer He foresaw His arrest, so much the more freely rebuked vices. It is true that our archbishop in order to give place to wrath and avoid hostilities, judiciously dissimulated in some points which concerned his person or his privileges – for many were the incivilities shown to him at every turn by the members of his cabildo, who disregarded the customary forms of

politeness toward him; and again, at critical moments in the controversies which arose between the governor and the archbishop, the latter tried to yield what was his right, or to overlook the lack of courtesy. But when offenses against God, or attacks on his church or his episcopal dignity, came in his way, his apostolic zeal did not allow him to overlook these – the more, as he was needed by the aggrieved party on account of points of justice intervening at the time. And of such character were the events which occurred in the course of this year, and were the final incentive to the acts of violence committed against his illustrious Lordship – his zealous attempt to restrain certain ecclesiastics from carrying on trade and traffic, to which they were greatly addicted and devoted, in contravention of the pontifical decrees, especially of a recent ordinance by Clement IX which prohibited the said commerce to ecclesiastics; and likewise his having endeavored to compel an executor to render an account of the estate which he had in his charge.

These were the chief motives for the arrest and banishment of our archbishop; for, the same persons [*i.e.*, the Jesuits] being concerned in both of those incidents, they again disturbed people's minds, and stirred them up anew against his illustrious Lordship. Past disputes seemed lulled, and affairs had been smoothed over and adjusted, although anger against the firmness and activity of his illustrious Lordship remained alive; and now the unusual character of these incidents revived again the old complaints – those who were parties in this affair uniting with those who were angry at what had previously occurred. All joined in clamors against the

archbishop, treating him as turbulent, seditious, prejudiced, contumacious, and the like; and from various speeches and conversations this opinion steadily grew – all regarding as already certain and evident what originated only in their mistaken prejudices, and with this basis easily reaching a conclusion (as occurred with the majesty of Christ) – that it was necessary to remove his illustrious Lordship from their midst, in order to quiet the anxieties and disturbances which had grieved all the estates of the commonwealth. So in the execution of this their undertaking they did not observe the method and plan which is prescribed in the laws for cases of so great importance – for there was now no disobedience or contumacy to a second or third royal decree, or interference with the royal patronage, or other like causes or motives which could justify so audacious an act. And solely at hearing the reply of his illustrious Lordship to two royal decrees, which at the very same time were communicated to him in regard to different matters – each one of these being the first one which was issued, in both cases – all the officials of the royal Audiencia were so irritated that immediately they proceeded to decree that the sentence of banishment and [loss of] secular revenues, [*temporalidades*] which had been pronounced against his illustrious Lordship in the preceding year, must be executed.

But the controversy of that year was now ended, and the parties now reconciled, and therefore the cause of this action was not past but present disputes. These were: that his illustrious Lordship had refused to absolve a contumacious executor whose name he had posted as excommunicate; and that he

had replied to the royal decrees with apostolic freedom and liberty – in both these acts displaying his constancy, and zeal for maintaining his jurisdiction unimpaired. [On March 29, 1683, the Audiencia decree that the sentence of banishment be carried out, but it is suspended for two days, that the necessary preparations may be made secretly, in order to avoid disturbances like those connected with Archbishop Guerrero's banishment. Pardo is arrested at midnight, by a large body of officials and soldiers, and immediately deported to Pangasinán,[151] "where the alcalde of that province had strict orders to detain his illustrious Lordship there, without allowing him to leave the provincial capital, or to perform any act of jurisdiction[152] or authority pertaining to his episcopal dignity, or to correspond by letter with Manila." On the same day, various persons are arrested as officials or near friends of the archbishop. The provisor takes refuge in the Dominican convent, which is at once surrounded by soldiers, an auditor threatening to demolish it with artillery; at this, the provisor surrenders himself to the assailants, but "with certain precautions and securities," and is kept under guard in his own house. Guards are also placed "at the bell-towers of certain churches, so that the bells might not be rung for an interdict. All the household furniture and personal property

[151] Pardo was sent to Lingayén, "certainly not to give him the consolation of residing among his brethren of the order, but to keep him under the authority of the notorious Don Francisco Pizarro, bishop of Vigan [*i.e.*, of Nueva Segovia], with whom he had just had an annoying controversy" (*Reseña biográfica*, i, p. 476).

[152] "Under penalty of 4,000 pesos; on the ground that his spiritual jurisdiction was suspended and barred, by virtue of his banishment" (Diaz, *Conquistas*, p. 762).

[*espolio*] of the archbishop was confiscated, and placed in the royal magazines – scrutiny being first made of the most private papers of his illustrious Lordship, without finding in them anything by which his enemies could calumniate him."]

The bishop of Troya, Don Fray Gines Barrientos, who had been appointed governor of the archbishopric by his illustrious Lordship for this emergency, when he learned of the arrest of the archbishop immediately presented to the cabildo the document appointing him; but that body appealed to the royal Audiencia, and, with either their expressed or their tacit approval, took possession of the government of the archbishopric. They declared that the banishment of the archbishop must be construed as the vacation of his see, although their action might better be called a spiritual adultery – for, while the spouse of this church was still living, the cabildo intruded their presence in order to abuse her; and, although in reality they were but sons and subjects, they had the audacity to occupy their father's marriage-bed. At the head of this action was the dean, who with dexterity and artifice lured on the rest to consent to this monstrous deed; and because one, a racionero, would not consent, they thrust him out of the chapter-room. Government by the cabildo having been declared, it was an easy thing for this same dean to cause them to appoint him as provisor; and in virtue of this fantastical jurisdiction he went on undoing what had been done, and making blunders – liberating all those who had been imprisoned by the [ecclesiastical] tribunal,[153] giving permission to all

[153] "The dean opened all the prisons of his tribunal, liberating all the prisoners therein – although among these there were several

the clerics to hear confessions, absolving *ad cautelam* the excommunicated (especially the executor [*i.e.*, Ortega] who had been publicly posted), and promulgating an Octavian peace, like that of which the prophet says, *Dicunt, "pax, pax," et non erat pax.*[154]

Among this confusion of affairs, the perplexity that existed in the consciences of men was very noticeable: for some, endeavoring to flatter those who were in power, gave their approval to all that these had done, saying that they had not incurred any censure, and that the jurisdiction of the cabildo was valid; but others, with more pious judgment, regarded the said jurisdiction as either fanciful or monstrous, and therefore felt scruples regarding all their transactions – and not least in regard to intercourse with those persons who had taken part in the arrest of the archbishop and other ecclesiastics. This was the feeling of our religious, and therefore they endeavored to refrain from intercourse with [those] secular persons, that they might not incur danger from having communication with excommunicated persons.[155] This withdrawal being re-

bigamists; and one who was not only a heretic but a leader of heretics. For, among other heresies which he taught, one was that God had a beginning, [a doctrine] which only very learned men understood. Another was a prebend whom his illustrious Lordship held as a recluse in our college, for heinous and atrocious crimes, whose final end was a sentence of degradation, and delivery to the secular arm; the dean settled this case, without examining the documents in the case (which they did not find), by condemning him to six months of banishment to a country house of recreation." (Salazar, *Hist. Sant. Rosario*, p. 242.)

[154] "They say, peace, peace: when there was no peace" (Jeremias 6: 14).

[155] Salazar gives some instances of this (p. 245): in the Dominican churches the minister refused to say mass until certain persons who had injured or offended ecclesiastics should go out of the consecrated walls.

sented by the parties concerned, they began to calumniate us as inciters of sedition, saying that with our scruples we disturbed the peace which the cabildo and their dean had striven to introduce in this community. In consequence of this, the father provincial was notified, in the following year, of a decree by the royal Audiencia in which he was charged and commanded to banish three religious, the most prominent in his province, to the kingdom of Nueva España; and to send to the province of Cagayán two others, who were lecturers in theology – all because the Audiencia had concluded that the said religious, as being the most learned and serious, would persuade the rest to their own opinion. The father provincial replied to this that the said religious were not at all to blame, since he had ordered them to withdraw from intercourse with those who were excommunicated;[156] then they pronounced against him also sentence of banishment, which was executed with great severity on the father provincial and his associate, accompanied by the acts of violence which are mentioned in the first book.[157] . . . The arch-

[156] Salazar states (pp. 246-249) that the provincial Calderon was making his visitation in Cagayan at the time of Pardo's banishment; that on his return to Manila (September, 1683) he called a council of the most prominent Dominicans, and asked their opinions as to Pardo's exile, the government by the cabildo, and their own duty toward those concerned in these events; and that, in accordance with their decision, he ordered all his friars to remain in their convents, and hold no intercourse with those persons.

[157] Salazar here alludes to the relation of all these ecclesiastical affairs in the first part of his history, pp. 224-268. As it is so long and detailed, we have preferred to use here the account which he gives in his biography of Pardo; but have preserved, in our annotations, the most important and interesting matter found in the former one.

bishop was very contented in that place of his banishment, but so poor and needy in temporal revenues that for his ordinary support he was confined to what was given him for food by the religious who was minister in that village; he therefore resided in the convent, like any private brother in the order, and practiced the duties of [a member of] the community as if he were a subordinate of the vicar of that house. But outside of food and clothing he had nothing even for almsgiving; and therefore in the letter that I have mentioned – written to a lay friend, a citizen of this city of Manila – his illustrious Lordship asks that, for the love of God, his friend will send him some rosaries, medals, and like articles, so that he can make some return for the little presents which the Indians give him. And by way of acknowledgment for the hospitality which they had showed him in the convent of Lingayen, he left in it his sole possession, a piece of the wood of the holy cross – which he valued highly because it had been sent to him by the supreme pontiff when the latter issued the bulls for his appointment to this see. In this exile our archbishop remained during a period of about twenty months, until at last a new opportunity arose, by which he was restored to his see by the royal Audiencia.

In the year 1684 a new governor came to these islands, and as soon as he entered upon his office he began, as an unprejudiced party, to recognize the blind way in which action had been taken in these proceedings, and the injuries and bad consequences which might be feared if affairs continued in this state, especially as the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the cabildo was losing repute [*estando en opinio-*

nes]. For the remedy of so many evils, he made arrangements with the ministers of the royal Audiencia that the archbishop should be restored to his see; and this was actually carried out, by decree of that royal tribunal, in which the ministers of the royal Audiencia admit that the ecclesiastical jurisdiction had been snatched from the archbishop – as if this could be thus taken away, and especially by lay and secular officials!

Notwithstanding that the decree for the restitution of the archbishop had gone out from the royal Audiencia, it took much persuasion to make him acquiesce in returning to his see. One reason was, that he was not willing to return until his Holiness and the Council should decide his cause; the other, that he saw the affairs of his church in such a condition that it was almost impossible to set them right. But finally, at the entreaties of good men, and as persons very influential in this colony had gone to bring back his illustrious Lordship, he made the decision to return to Manila, where he was received with universal rejoicing and applause. . . . The holy pastor went about, looking up his flock, and when he saw it so injured and despoiled by the abuses, errors, and evil consequences which had been occasioned by the usurping jurisdiction of the cabildo – and, above all, by the censures in which so many were involved, affecting the liberty of their consciences, with disregard for our holy mother the Church – he undertook to procure the reconciliation of the accused persons, inducing them first to acknowledge their errors. First of all, through the intercession of the new governor absolution was given in private to the auditors (who had been active in his arrest and in those

of other ecclesiastical persons), they humbling themselves to ask for absolution with certain demonstrations of reverence. The members of his cabildo he absolved in public, with all the customary preparations and ceremonies; and the same thing was done with other persons, laymen, who had been concerned in the said arrests – especially with the preceding governor [*i.e.*, Vargas] the principal author of these acts of violence, who, being now a private person, was not on the same footing as the auditors, who were royal ministers and were actually governing this commonwealth. There was much to overcome in this point, in order that the said governor should humble himself; for he attempted by various means and pretexts to exempt himself from the jurisdiction of the archbishop – until, finding all paths barred, he was obliged to subject himself to that prelate's correction, and to make the necessary declarations in acknowledgement and detestation of his errors. But at the time of imposing on him public penance he showed that his repentance was feigned; for he never was willing to accept that penance, or to submit to the commands of his illustrious Lordship. On this account he had much to suffer – although the pain that he had inflicted on the holy archbishop was incomparably greater than this – seeing how rebellious was his heart, and how little regard he paid to the censures.

The decision in the archbishop's cause from the courts of Roma and Madrid could not arrive here as soon as it was desired; for those of the party opposed to his illustrious Lordship had managed so well that they seized all the mails in which anything was going that was favorable to the archbishop, and they

only sent to those courts whatever would contribute to his injury. Accordingly, the good name of that holy prelate suffered greatly, and he was regarded as restless, seditious, and disobedient to the royal ministers. But as there was no allegation made on the side of his illustrious Lordship, and as the sentence that would be just could not be pronounced without hearing both sides, the Council were unwilling to settle so important a matter until all the documents that were in favor of the archbishop should arrive there. And in view of the allegations made on each side, although (it is said) the royal Council had uttered the sentence against his illustrious Lordship, the king our sovereign obliged them to revoke it, because at Roma the sentence was of contrary tenor, and his Holiness earnestly charged him to protect the cause of the Church, and to reflect very carefully on all the events which had occurred in this case. In consequence of these admonitions from his Holiness, it is said, our most Catholic king Carlos II summoned the president of the Council of the Indias, and gave him a severe and sharp rebuke for having declared sentence against the archbishop – saying, among other things: "How you have deceived me!" at which the said president was so grieved that (according to report) he died on the third day after. Thereupon these matters were again considered in the Council, with more deliberation; and revoking the previous sentence, declared that all the irregular measures enacted by this royal Audiencia were arbitrary and illegal; they also removed from office all the auditors, for having been concerned in this proceeding [*i.e.*, against the archbishop]. In the same manner, the supreme pontiff

declared that all those who had taken any part in the arrest and banishment of his illustrious Lordship, and of the other ecclesiastics were publicly excommunicated; and he made the archbishop his deputy judge, in order to absolve them and reconcile them to the Church, after they should render such satisfaction as, in the judgment of his illustrious Lordship, was necessary. And to our archbishop he despatched an apostolic letter, praising his fortitude in defending the ecclesiastical immunity, exhorting him to continue with the same courage in any future difficulties that he might encounter; and to follow his own good example, acting with the same constancy that he had previously displayed. [Here follows the Latin text of the brief; before it arrives, Pardo has a fresh opportunity to follow its injunctions.] Notwithstanding that all the affairs of this commonwealth were for the time in peace, a new difficulty and occasion arose for the archbishop to display his constancy in defense of the ecclesiastical immunity; and, without fearing the threats of a new banishment, he showed himself steadfast and brave in defending the privileges of his jurisdiction – so much so, that the royal Audiencia again passed sentence, of banishment anew, against his illustrious Lordship. They would have carried this into execution, if it had not been for the intercession of both cabildos (the ecclesiastical and the secular) and the holy religious orders who all fell at the governor's feet, entreating him not to take such a step, which would cause so great injury to this commonwealth; with this the rigorous intention of his Lordship was moderated, and this new blow was not inflicted.

Not for this did the valor of his illustrious Lord-

ship grow weak: rather, in new emergencies (and many of these arose) he bore himself with invincible courage; nor could his constancy be overcome, either by regard for meritorious persons, or by dangers, perils, or threats. For he had a heart and courage of steel (as may be gathered from his letters written to the governor regarding various affairs) for defending the rights of the Church – in these letters showing fortitude like that of a St. Ambrose, of a St. John Chrysostom, and of other like holy prelates. The holy archbishop was gentle as a lamb; and all those who knew him affirm that he was merciful and affable; but in matters touching the honor of God and the immunities and rights of His Church he was transformed into a spirited lion, nor did he ever swerve from his course or accept any [personal] advantage. And it seems that God approved his apostolic zeal and the justness of his cause, by coming to its defense with the exemplary punishments which He inflicted on the enemies of the holy archbishop; so that, before the final settlement of these disputes arrived from Roma and Madrid, He made evident to the world his innocence, and the injustice of those who persecuted him – taking just vengeance upon them by their miserable and violent deaths, and other like calamities. These are not repeated here, since they are already related at length in the eighteenth [158] chapter of the preceding book; and

[158] Thus in the text, but it should read "forty-eighth." Salazar there relates how Vargas, "in the same year in which he banished the archbishop," suffered the confiscation at Acapulco of all the goods that he had shipped, "with little credit to his reputation and notable expense to his estate;" and, as excommunicated by the Church, Vargas had much to atone for and to suffer until his death. The auditor Grimaldos died, soon after Pardo's banishment, "from a painful disease, in which the tongue with which he had

God, almost by a miracle, preserved the life of the holy archbishop so that he might before his death see his cause concluded in his favor. Thus, if before all the world – or, to speak more correctly, all hell – had conspired against him, at the last he was able to see in his own day the union, in his favor and defense, of the apostolic see on one hand, and the king our sovereign with his royal Council on the other; and, besides, the Supreme Judge of mortal men taking just vengeance on his enemies, by which the ministers of the secular government were warned not to insult again the dignity of the holy archbishop. And, although various collisions were not lacking, they did not reach violence and hostilities; for every one feared him, and regarded him as a holy man whom God assisted and favored.

spoken so much evil of his illustrious Lordship became rotten, and the arm with which he had seized the anointed of the Lord was withered." The auditor Viga, who went to seize the Dominican provincial, Calderon, died in exile, in Cagayan, without having consented to make his confession. He and his colleague Bolivar had been sent there "for a certain sedition which they were plotting" against Cruzalaegui. [Murillo Velarde says (fol. 344) that they were plotting to put Zalaeta in the governor's place.] The wife of Bolivar "died at Orion, impenitent, unwilling to confess; when her husband heard of this, he performed condign penitence for his sins, and publicly professed his detestation of his transgressions, and thus he gained absolution from the censures – but, returning from his exile, he died on the way." Calderon "also died very suddenly, although at the hour of death he acknowledged his errors, and, to secure absolution from the censures, made the usual profession of detestation." The fiscal Alanis, "the only one who experienced, while living, the punishment from the king our sovereign which deprived of their offices all the members of the royal Audiencia, died in Mexico in great poverty and humiliation. The same fate befell the usurping dean," Miguel Ortiz de Covarrubias. The cantor Figueroa was sentenced to degradation, and to be delivered to the secular powers, "which was afterward commuted, for valid reasons, to perpetual banishment to the Marianas Islands, where he ended his days in

No other judgment is merited by the exemplary virtues of his illustrious Lordship; for even those most blind and obstinate in their prejudices were obliged to confess that the archbishop was a saintly man – as was said by the auditor who went to arrest him, as has been previously stated. The holy archbishop was much given to prayer and meditation, and inclined to silence; he was modest and sedate in his actions; and he was very watchful in whatever he did that all should be ordered by the divine law – continually keeping in mind the account that he must render to God of his ministry, a consideration which frequently shines out through his letters and other documents pertaining to the affairs of his high office. And this was the most potent stimulus which constrained him to act with so much firmness in the affairs pertaining to his ministry, as is noticeable in the letters which he wrote thereon to the governor,

a thousand miseries." The bishop of Cagayan died so suddenly that he could not be confessed or absolved. The Jesuit Ortega died at sea, while en route to Madrid to complain of Pardo; and although he received the viaticum, his mind was so occupied, first and last, with accusations against the archbishop, that he scandalized all the people in the ship. He died practically an excommunicate, not having rendered his accounts for the executorship to the archbishop, and having been absolved only by "the usurping Dean, who had no jurisdiction." "The two soldiers who carried out the father provincial died suddenly," being stabbed to death, one by an infidel Chinese, the other on leaving the house of his mistress. A man who wounded the provisor – in trying to murder him; his name was Manuel Ortafán, and his wife had brought suit against him for divorce, before the ecclesiastical tribunal (Diaz, *Conquistas*, p. 766) – was sentenced to a short exile; "but God was not satisfied with that light punishment, and accordingly took upon Himself vengeance against that man, afflicting him with leprosy. This made him blind, and he finally reached the utmost poverty, begging alms, with a boy to guide him, before the gates of the convents."

The spirit of this account is echoed – rather curiously, for so late a date as 1891 – in *Reseña biográfica*, i, pp. 478-480.

and are found in the authentic relation of his acts. In eating he was always very sparing, not only that he might observe religious abstinence, but because the delicate condition of his stomach could not endure the least excess. The holy archbishop lived in extreme poverty, behaving like the poorest religious in regard to his table, clothing, bed, and everything else. The province supplied his clothing, of rough, coarse frieze; and when a garment was torn he himself mended it with his own hands, as the members of his household have often seen. He employed the income of his see in doing good to the poor, in aiding the missions of his diocese, and in the adornment and repair of the churches. In the university of Santo Thomas he endowed a chair of canonical law, on account of the need in his church for training in this knowledge – to the end that the ecclesiastics of this archbishop might in future be better instructed in a subject so important for the management of the business in the ecclesiastical court; but this foundation was not enough to be effective, on account of unexpected accidents in the country.[159]

At last God chose to reward his labors, and his zeal in defense of the Church; and thus, the previous storms calmed, God took him, triumphant over impiety and injustice, from this life to that which is eternal, with a holy and enviable death. This occurred on the last day of December in the year 1689, when he was seventy-eight years of age, most of these

[159] Pardo offered to his Dominican province the sum of thirteen thousand pesos, to be used as endowment for three chairs – law, medicine, and pharmacy – and for some scholarships in Santo Tomás; but the gift was declined, as the province was neither able nor willing to take the responsibility of administering it. (*Reseña biográfica*, i, pp. 477, 478.)

employed in the service of God our Lord.[160] He was given honorable burial at the steps of the clergy-house of our church of Santo Domingo at Manila; and at his funeral were present the royal Audiencia and the ecclesiastical and secular cabildos, all the religious orders, and the rest of this community, all bitterly sorrowing for the loss of such a pastor and prelate. Although his government at first ran counter to many who were discontented, as he seemed to them excessive in his rectitude, yet finally – his cause justified, and the truth declared by so many tribunals; and his blameless and holy life being seen [by all] – they hailed him unanimously as a holy prelate, and an example worthy of imitation. And even those who formerly regarded his rule as grievous now felt the lack of such a father, and were grieved that they had not treated him with more respect, their prejudice not having allowed them to know his virtue and holiness. The cabildo was left with the government of the cabildo, and transferred it to the bishop of Troya, Don Fray Gines Barrientós, a member of our own order – not only to show their affection for the deceased archbishop, but to

[160] In the Ventura del Arco MSS. (iii, p. 761) is an extract from a letter by the Jesuit Pedro Cano, dated May 26, 1690, which says: "On December 31, 1689, they found Archbishop Pardo dead in his bed, *sine cruce et sine luce*, without any sacrament, through the negligence of the people of his household and his own confidence that he was to live a long time. For some days all his body had been swollen, and he said that, thanks to the Lord, he was gaining flesh. In the agonies of death, he called to his servants, who were buried in sleep; no one heard him except Don Juan de Cazorla, a cleric whom the archbishop kept a prisoner under his own apartment, in fetters – who did not dare to go upstairs, lest the archbishop should learn that his fetters were removed at night. The prelate's body, wrapped in a loose gown, was carried to the house where Auditor Grimaldos died; and from there to Santo Domingo, where four days later it was buried."

make some amends for the resistance which in past times they had made to his rule, when, at the time of the banishment and exile of the archbishop, he had left the bishop with appointment as his governor. Thus the cabildo made acknowledgment of their past errors, for now were lacking in their number the two prebends who had been the principal authors of that resistance, and of all the incivilities shown to his illustrious Lordship; and these two seditious persons being removed, the rest professed filial reverence to the mitre and to his episcopal dignity.

OFFICIAL VISITATION BY VALDIVIA

An account of the occurrences in Manila on the occasion of the arrival of the [royal] visitor, Don Francisco Campos de Valdivia.

The said gentleman arrived in this city,[161] and on the same day he arrested the fiscal, Don Esteban de la Fuente y Alanis, seizing his goods. He did the same with the notaries who had aided [the proceedings] against the church, and with the military leaders – beginning with Don Juan de Vargas, whom he left with guards in his own house. He made inquiries into many facts which had gone forth on the part of the archbishop, and many lies on the part of the Audiencia; many false statements in the acts, and many other things by which people in Manila have been undeceived regarding the just acts of the archbishop – who is lauded by that visitor as upright, just, and holy; and who told all who entered his house what was going on. He sent for the auditor Bolivar, the only one of the four who was yet alive, who had been for another reason banished to Cagayan; he was very repentant, according to report, and was absolved with his solemn declarations – which were published, by command of the

[161] He came with commission to bring suit against the auditors who had banished the archbishop.

archbishop, in all the pulpits of Manila – expressing detestation of all his actions against the church, in detail, up to his neglect to give aid for seizing the two hundred or more bales belonging to the Society. He came with the intention of dying, if it were necessary, in professing what he had detested; but in Ylocos he died suddenly and without the sacraments, while still near Pangasinan. Of his property and of that of Viga, little or nothing has appeared.

The archbishop, seeing that all that he had done had pleased the Council at Madrid and that at Roma, proceeded to lay aside his scruples, by imposing and declaring an interdict against the church of the Society, because the body of Auditor Grimaldos [162] reposed therein; and it was kept closed from the eve of St. Ignatius's day for the space of two months, until the conclusion of the lawsuit which the widow of the said Grimaldos undertook to defend. They went to bring out the bones for sentence, and these were so intermingled with others – they say, it was done purposely or by artifice – that, in order not to deprive of asylum those of the just, the bones of Grimaldos were left in the church. It was blessed by the provisor with much solemnity, and the doors were opened with a peal of bells and the universal joy. Seeing this obstacle removed, on account of which that order were not entering that church, the Catholic visitor spoke in reconciliation of the two orders. At the first movement for peace, our order [*i.e.*, the Dominican] declared that we desired it; and an agreement was reached, all the Society re-

[162] He had died toward the end of the year 1683, aged more than seventy years.

pairing to our convent on the octave of the naval feast. Our provincial preached, the archbishop and the Audiencia being present, and, I think, all Manila; for never was seen such a crowd of people. In a few days, I think in that same week, the feast of St. Ignatius was celebrated at the house of the Society; it had not been done [at the proper time], since on the eve of that day the church of the Society was placed under interdict. They had the same large attendance; Father Cani [168] preached, delivering a very spiritual and appropriate sermon.

The archbishop, seeing that God was on his side, concluded to give a public atonement to the church. In the courtyard of our church was erected a stage, on which sat his illustrious Lordship and his cabildo; one day at twelve o'clock he laid an interdict throughout the city, and on the following day were present all the culprits who had concurred in violating the sacred persons and places – in a body, without swords. They were absolved, with scourges [*varillas*] and *miserere*, and afterward his illustrious Lordship restored them to the church. Then the next day a procession was formed, accompanied by our Lady of the Rosary. For the morrow there was a sermon, at which the governor and the city were present; and in the afternoon, for the procession, all the Audiencia, and the archbishop, etc.

The visitor sent Don Juan de Vargas to Panga-

[168] Nicolas Cani was born in 1611, a Sardinian by nation; and became a Jesuit novice March 27, 1628. In 1653 he entered the Philippine missions, and labored in the Visayan Islands. Murillo Velarde states (fol. 367 b) that he was unable to learn further particulars as to Cani's life and ministries, except vague statements as to his admirable character and some few incidents in which he figured. The date of his death is not recorded, but signatures by him existed that were made in 1671.

sinan, as excommunicated, since he had refused to submit to the sentence of his illustrious Lordship; he is still there, and will remain there. He is not going to España, as he has not paid the amount to which he was sentenced, which the visitor imposed upon him on account of the residencia, in either silver or jewels; nor has he provided securities for it. As for what concerns the residencia, the sum will be about one hundred thousand pesos; in this decision the judge has, in the opinion of all, proceeded most mercifully. The king's fiscal has been banished to the island of Mariveles until the ship sails. The dean, Don Miguel Ortiz de Cobarrubias, was involved in the libels that were current last year, and in other matters against the archbishop, in contravention of what he had decreed – as he said under oath when they absolved him; accordingly he was arrested, and came out of prison deprived of all ecclesiastical benefice. Our Fray Raimundo Bertist [*i.e.*, Berart] also is going to España. The schoolmaster, Don Francisco Briçeno, was also deprived of all benefice on account of his talk, and sentenced to perpetual seclusion in a convent, from which he will not emerge unless he takes the vows; they say that he is going into [the convent of] San Agustin. Very recently occurred the fall of another member of the usurping cabildo, who in my opinion was the worst of them; but he has escaped, through his crafty devices. This is Don José de Nava y Albiz, a racionero. They discovered that some sessions of the cabildo had been held without informing the new dean and canons, in opposition to his illustrious Lordship; also they found a libel against the archbishop and our religious order. The treasurer

Valencia is also entangled in this matter. I do not know how the affair will end; they will find themselves in bad health if God preserves the archbishop.

Of the four dignitaries who came with the visitor, the two auditors and the fiscal ranged themselves on the side of the governor, Don Juan de Vargas; and when excommunication was laid on those who should have intercourse with him, these persons went in and out, entirely disregarding this, and causing great scandal. On this account the visitor challenged them in a suit which the party of Vargas carried to the Audiencia; and for the same reason the archbishop kept challenging them in regard to ecclesiastical affairs. The fiscal married the widow of the auditor Grimaldos. The other of those auditors – who is the senior, and who is now governing – has much fear of God; and he is all the more discreet and experienced for having been judge in Burgos.

Among other calamities which this community has suffered, not the least is the death of the governor, Don Gabriel de Curuzalegui, who died April 27; for the political government depends on so many heads that, as there is little concord among them and they are young men, much trouble is feared.

In this year, toward the end of January, God sent us an epidemic of influenza, very malignant, from which many children and old persons died throughout the islands. The prominent persons who have died in this city are: Don Francisco Beza, archdeacon of the cathedral; Gallardo, who died suddenly in prison; Master Don Pablo de Aduna, Don Francisco de Ocampo, and others. The governor died poor, and with many debts – a proof of his up-

right conduct. All feel that these islands have not had [in that post] a man who was more disinterested, or who took better care of the royal exchequer and the credit of the church. God repaid him for this, since our king sent him several letters of thanks for what he had accomplished – especially for having brought back the archbishop to his see, and secured the removal of that monster, the usurping government of the cabildo. The supreme pontiff wrote letters to the archbishop, thanking him for what he had done and suffered, and encouraging him for what was before him – saying that he himself is imitating him, and using very affectionate terms.

Relation of events in Filipinas arising from the coming of a visitor

While all these islands were in the disconsolate and afflicted condition of which an account was given last year, at the beginning of July arrived the patache that was despatched from Nueva España to bring the usual aid. It had a quick voyage, and in this vessel came an entire Audiencia, and a visitor.[164] The latter, disembarking at Bagatao, set out for this city with the utmost speed, in a fragata belonging to the alcalde-mayor of Leyte; and left orders in the patache that no one should go ashore or write letters. He arrived at Manila very quickly, and, landing at Cavite – where he was received with a salvo of artillery – he went to the fort only. Having spent three-quarters of an hour with Don Fernando, without going anywhere else, he continued

[164] The letter following this says that the visitor and Audiencia reached Manila in 1687; Montero y Vidal says 1688; and Diaz's editor, 1689. It seems more probable that 1688 is the correct date, from various allusions made in these letters and by Diaz.

his journey to this city, where he arrived at two o'clock, and was received with a salvo. He entered the coach of the governor, and going from the fort of Santiago (by the postern gate of which he made his entry), he reached the palace. On the plaza a body of troops had been formed in order, who received him with a general salute of arquebus-shots. He spent about an hour with the governor, at the time making known to him only the commissions which he bore; meanwhile, the faces of various persons expressed their wonder, for it began to be rumored that whatever the archbishop and governor had done received the visitor's entire approval. This statement was very soon confirmed; for the said visitor, leaving the palace, asked for some soldiers, and, riding in the coach, went first to the house of the former governor, Don Juan de Vargas, but did not find him at home because he was outside the city, in his country house, by order of the governor. Leaving some guards there, and sending orders to Don Juan to come within the city, the visitor went to the house of Don Pedro de Bolivar; and when he asked for him and for his goods, he was told that Don Pedro was banished, and confined in the fort at Cagayan, and his goods had been confiscated and sold at public auction, by order of the governor. The visitor proceeded thence to the house of Don Diego de Calderon, and asking for him and for his goods, he was answered that Don Diego was dead, and they did not know of any goods. He left that place and went to the house of Don Diego de Viga, where he made the same inquiry; and answer was made that he had died in exile and prison in Cagayan, and his goods also had been sold and con-

fiscated by the governor. He finally proceeded to the house of the king's fiscal, Don Esteban de la Fuente Alanis, whom he found at home in great fear and perturbation. Immediately the visitor told him that he might regard the house as his prison, and withdrawing him to an apartment, he seized all Don Esteban's goods; by this time the afternoon was ended. On the following day, Don Juan de Vargas, having returned to the city, was promptly visited; and after a polite visit, he was told that he must remain a prisoner in his own house, without leaving it, under a penalty of one thousand ducados. On this day, it was published that all acts by the royal Council in favor of the archbishop, the governor, and the Dominicans were approved; that the auditors were suspended; that the ex-governor was fined two thousand pesos; that all were summoned to Nueva España – where they must await their sentence, in the place that had been selected, twenty leguas distant from Mejico; and, until a ship was ready, they were all banished from Manila to the same places where the archbishop and the other Dominican religious had been confined. They all were stupefied with fear, at hearing a decision so unexpected; and those of the [archbishop's] following and partners were full of satisfaction and triumph. Fear increased, and no one felt any security in so fierce a storm, thinking that the said visitor was in the place of the governor and the Dominicans. With this it was expected that affairs would be in worse confusion than before, and that the truth of events would be disguised and covered as those personages might choose, with the fraudulent statements made in the earlier accounts.

The said visitor began his investigation, and for it demanded that the court notaries should immediately surrender to him the original documents of all the past disputes between the Audiencia and archbishop, appeals [on the ground] of fuerza, and other causes; of these he furnished a list. Then, in a few days, taking the declaration of the said fiscal of the king, the visitor brought charges against him, and commanded that he should go into banishment on the island of Mariveles, and from that place should answer the charges. In the intervening time while his cause was being prepared, a chaplain said mass in his house; and the archbishop despatched a letter threatening to place him on the public list of the excommunicated, unless he first drew up and signed the same expressions of detestation that Don Pedro de Bolivar had made, commanding that no priest should be allowed to say mass for him; and thus was repaid his good services to his illustrious Lordship during the entire term of the governor Don Gabriel. At the beginning, Don Esteban resisted; but seeing that he had no human recourse, and that, when he demanded counsel from the visitor, that person gave him to understand that he must do it, he had to yield under compulsion, and do what was commanded him. Another strong reason why he consented to do it was, that he might not go to his destination as an excommunicate; he went thither absolved, leaving the said act of detestation dated and signed, to the pleasure and satisfaction of the archbishop.

So frequent were now the visits of the reverend Verart, and so close was his intimacy with the visitor, that he did not leave the latter's house by day or even

by night – so that it was soon rumored that the said Father Verart was the one who acted and took the management in the inquiries, investigations, and charges which were made in regard to those who were included therein by the worthy visitor. This has been made more certain by time, not only by information and occurrences which have come to our knowledge, but by seeing how ignorant and unlearned the said visitor was; and if Verart did not draw up the allegations and other documents, many will doubt that the visitor could succeed in doing anything to advantage. We shall see how the whole affair will turn out, and how thoroughly investigated the truth as to affairs in these islands will go to the Council. The governor, the archbishop, the visitor, and the Dominicans [will figure] tied together by pairs, and Fray Raimundo Verart as the leader [*corifeo*] of the dance.

When the patache reached the port, and the auditors this city, various mails from his Majesty were opened, and it was found that the remedy was worse than the disease itself; since the Dominicans and the archbishop, like headlong furies, began a fierce tempest of vengeance against all those who were not of their faction and at their disposal, without heeding or fearing any one who might restrain them in whatever they might attempt. Accordingly, they made the first attack, or rather continued the old persecution, against the fathers of the Society (using a pretext, in order to close our church for a long time), the archbishop declaring that it had been profaned, meaning that in it was interred [the body of] Don Cristobal Grimaldos – who, he said, had died an excommunicate by having incurred that penalty in

the archbishop's banishment – although it was five years since he had died, and only now for the first time did his illustrious Lordship begin to have scruples, which he could not lay aside. In order to conceal better his revengeful spirit against the Society, he waited until the day of most publicity and greatest attendance [at our church], which was the day of our great patriarch St. Ignatius; choosing this day, he waited until the hour of nine, when the church was full of people, including all the religious communities of this city, and only the arrival of the royal Audiencia was awaited to begin high mass for the saint. For that time and hour, then, his illustrious Lordship reserved his scruples; and, sending two notaries, they published and posted on the church door his edict, declaring the church of the Society of Jesus to be polluted – declaring under penalty of major excommunication, *latæ sententiæ*, that no faithful Christian should attend divine worship in the said church. All the people, therefore, were obliged to go out, and the doors were locked for two months and two days, from July 31 to October 2; and, although Doña Manuela Barrientos, formerly the wife of the said Señor Grimaldos, came out in our defense – proving not only by the confessors who assisted him, but by the testimony of other witnesses, that he had died with all the sacraments and with great contrition – nothing of this was sufficient to prevent the archbishop from pronouncing notices that he had died impenitent and excommunicate. He therefore commanded that the bones should be exhumed, for which purpose the provisor, Juan Gonzalez, went one afternoon, October 2, with other officials and some negroes with

spades, and opened the tomb; but, finding many bones, and among them three skulls, they had to leave these in their place, as they could not distinguish which were those of the auditor Grimaldos. On the following day the said provisor came to bless our church, and the gates were again opened, to the great joy and consolation of the people.

At this time, when the archbishop was engaged in disinterring the bones of the said auditor Grimaldos, the visitor – who had been declared investigating judge for special suits and commissions only – was going about in another direction, making his secret inquiries about past affairs. In everything he proceeded greatly in favor of the archbishop, governor, and Dominicans, but with general complaints from all the witnesses, who said that the examiner had come not to ascertain the truth, but to confirm the fraudulent and malicious reports of the archbishop and the friars – for, as soon as they said anything against the latter, they were immediately checked, and what was set down in the document was moderated; but if it was anything in favor of them, the examiner heard it at much length, and employed his rhetoric to dilate upon it very extensively. He very soon gave orders that Captain Lerma (who took the place of Armenta, the secretary of the Audiencia, who was banished to Pangasinan) and Sargento-mayor Juan Sanchez (who was secretary of that court in the time of the controversies between the Audiencia and the archbishop) should enter the fort as prisoners. Every day his friendship and intercourse with the governor grew more and more intimate, so much so that not a night passed when he did not inform the governor of all

that he had accomplished that day, praising himself for having gained control of everything [*de hechar todo a su barda*]. This was seen by what occurred in the country; and he took away life from whomever he chose, as easily as if he had been a governor. It being necessary for his investigation that Auditor Bolivar should come to this city, the examiner demanded that he be brought from Cagayan, where he was at the time; and the latter while coming, in good health, upon entering the province of Pangasinan from that of Ylocos fell dead, from [drinking] one cup of chocolate, without obtaining the sacraments. This rumor of poisoning was so widely spread in all this region that the governor, notwithstanding all his efforts, could not stop the mouths of all; accordingly the worthy examiner was full of fear and dread lest they should do as much more to him, and did all that the governor, archbishop, and Dominicans desired – if before with some concealment, from that day with entire publicity – calling the archbishop a saintly old man.

The residencia of the ex-governor was published, and in the course of it and of other investigations (all which were proceeding at the same time) the goods of most of the prominent citizens of Manila were seized and detained – some having incurred blame in certain charges of the residencia, and others because they had been commanded by the [former] royal Audiencia and its governor and captain-general, under grave penalties in the decrees, to find and seize the Dominican religious. Consequently the people were in great perplexity, not knowing what was to be done; for it went ill with them if they obeyed the king, and still worse if they did not obey.

They showed the [former] orders and decrees, but nothing availed them; consequently all went out after several days of imprisonment (in which time died Sargento-mayor Don Juan Gallardo), mulcted in amounts of three hundred, four hundred, and even five hundred pesos [each].

At the beginning of the month of October, the examiner took greatly to heart the establishment of peace between the Dominican fathers and those of the Society, in which negotiation the governor and the archbishop were active, since now the latter found no longer the means for annoying us. The affair was very diligently conducted, but always with the claim of advantages for the other side. The worthy man was quite deceived, having been told that the Dominican fathers had only broken off their former intercourse with our church inasmuch as it had been polluted from the time when Auditor Grimaldos was interred in it; but this was a great lie, and quite notorious, since, a year before the said auditor died, since the controversy over the arms,[165] they had ceased intercourse [with us]. Notwithstanding all this, they always directed their efforts to the end that the Society should yield; and, the octave of the naval feast falling on the very day of St. Francis de Borgia, we had to delay until the octave the feast and sermon for the saint, and went in a body to the church. Great rejoicing was displayed in the city; much artillery was fired; the [Dominican] provincial Marron preached; the archbishop, governor, and Audiencia were present.

[165] Referring to the dispute between the two universities of San José and Santo Tomás; and the placing, by the latter, of the royal arms over its entrance.

All this was repeated on the day of the octave of St. Francis Borgia, when Father Cani preached; and from that day the Dominican fathers and their archbishop have displayed, at least externally, their former friendliness.

A little while afterward, on the day of St. Peter [of] Alcantara,[166] occurred the most fearful earthquake that ever, according to report, was known in these islands, the shocks being repeated at various times. The father rector went to the archbishop to ask his permission to offer the act of contrition, but he refused to allow it – saying that he had thought of something else that was better, which was, to carry the Virgin of the Rosary through the streets, all reciting the rosary aloud. Moreover, in order to make peace with God and placate His just anger, he commanded one day that a general interdict be rung, publishing as excommunicated all those who had in any manner been concerned in the banishment of his illustrious Lordship and the other Dominican religious, and all the officers who had taken part in the blockade of the convent of Santo Domingo. Afterward, having erected a scaffold or stage in the courtyard of his convent, he published the absolution – for which they went past him one by one to be absolved, without sword or hat. In this were ranked all the

[166] That is, October 19. This saint was Pedro Garavito, born at Alcántara in 1499; at the age of fifteen he entered the Franciscan order, and was ordained in 1524. In 1554 he instituted a reform, exceedingly austere and rigorous, in his order, and erected the first convent for these discalced Franciscans at Pedroso. Other houses adopted this rule, and in 1562 these reformed convents were freed by papal orders from the jurisdiction of the general of the Franciscan order. Garavito died on October 18 of that same year; he was canonized in 1669 as St. Peter of Alcántara. (Baring-Gould's *Lives of the Saints*, xii, pp. 487-494.)

military and officials of Manila – all solemnly swearing never again to take action or render obedience for such occasions, even though the king should command them to. All those who were absent were likewise absolved, Don Juan de Vargas being excepted, *nominatim*. This function was ended by the promise that with this God would be placated, and the earth rendered quiet – although His Divine Majesty, for [the ends of] His lofty judgments, continued the incessant tremblings of the earth.

It seems that with this the tragedies were ended, all [the culprits] absolved, and the earth blessed; but his illustrious Lordship and the friars, recalling to mind the former preposterous attempt to change all the [members of the] cabildo and arrange it according to their own humor and taste, and seeing themselves masters of the field, without any one remaining who could resist them, undertook to put that scheme into execution, bringing against all the prebends such suits as they pleased. Commencing with the dean, after a long imprisonment they passed sentence on him that he should be deprived of his dignity and should go to España; and, being meanwhile suspended from office, he should remain in Manila. Then they put in his place, and made dean, the provisor Juan Gonzalez – a person of the qualifications that we all know. Soon they attacked in the rear the good old archdeacon, Doctor Francisco Deza, and brought against him a very infamous complaint, entirely unworthy of his exemplary life and gray hairs, in order to deprive him of his prebend. God chose, rather, to take him to himself; but on the day when he died they seized all his goods, and placed in the prebend the cura of Quiapo,

Caraballo – a Visayan by birth, and a notorious[167] mestizo. By way of courtesy, they passed then to the schoolmaster, Don Francisco Gutierrez; and, not finding any worse fault than the report that he had spoken ill of his prelate, it was enough for their purpose. After a long imprisonment, his sentence was pronounced – the loss of his prebend, and perpetual seclusion in a religious order, which he might choose; accordingly, he entered the convent of San Agustin. Thus they had a position into which to thrust a student from Santo Tomas, named Altamirano – of whom, when I say that he is a nephew of Cervantes, there is nothing more to be added. Another prebend, a racionero, named Don Jose de Nava, they got into their clutches a little while ago – because it is known that he wrote to his Majesty the excellent qualifications of those whom his illustrious Lordship was placing in the cabildo, which are admirable and undoubted – and seized all his goods. They are keeping him in fetters, in a place where he does not even know whether it is day or night, without [allowing him to] communicate with a soul. That they might more effectually form the entire cabildo from their own faction, and to suit themselves, his illustrious Lordship posted edicts regarding the two canonries, the doctoral and the magistral, saying that his Majesty commands that these prebends shall be given by competition in this cathedral, as in the others. Those who competed for them were the Japanese Naito, the little Visayan Caraballo, the mulatto Rocha, and Altamirano; and although Doctor Don Jose de Atienza entered the competition, and gave his competitive discourse in

[167] Spanish *buen*; but obviously used with satirical meaning.

public, and preached on short notice to the admiration of his hearers, no one in the city doubts that he will not succeed in obtaining anything, as he is not of their faction and was graduated by the Society. He felt so certain of this that he said so in his sermon. For they will strive to form the entire cabildo of their own men and from their following, so that, even if the archbishop dies, the Dominican fathers will not cease to rule, which is the object at which they aim. Thus far the canonries have not been conferred; it seems that they are waiting until the ship shall sail, so that they may send word [to España that the matter remains] in doubt; but no one has any doubt that two will surely enter upon these prebends, and that Atienza has no chance at all. That clique are proceeding, in regard to everything, in a reckless and very insolent manner, and without any caution, for there is no one who can resist them; and therefore they have rendered themselves formidable in this country, and the arbitrators of all matters. It is hoped that the storm will not be so severe now, with the entrance of the royal Audiencia upon the government – on account of the very unexpected and sudden death of the governor, Don Gabriel de Curuzelaegui, the abettor of all these doings. This occurred in the month of April last, and was caused by a retention of urine, which ended his life in three days. At that time, governor, archbishop, investigating judge, and Dominicans were preparing a farrago of documents to mislead the Council and to further their own reckless proceedings; they even notified the ex-governor, Don Juan de Vargas, that he must go into exile to Pangasinan, to which place he had banished the archbishop. He made an urgent

plea for his absolution, in view of his Majesty's decree which ordered the archbishop to absolve him, but the latter would not listen to it. On the day when they carried him into exile, he entered the house of the archbishop, and, ascending the stairs on his knees until he reached the prelate's feet, Don Juan begged him, with tears in his eyes, to absolve him; but the archbishop, with a heart like a tiger's, refused to hear him, and answered him only with harsh words. He told Don Juan that he must submit to the penance imposed, which required him to wear the sackcloth robe, the halter round his neck, the yellow breeches, etc., going through the churches, as he had been commanded to do; and that, if he did not consent to this, he must go to Lingayen without absolution. Thence he repaired to the royal Audiencia, who issued a royal decree to the archbishop that he must absolve Don Juan; but immediately the governor and archbishop joined hands to avert this pressure, and drew up an iniquitous accusation against the auditors, containing many falsehoods and charges. Among other things, they brought forward evidence that the auditors had illicit relations with Doña Isabel, the wife of Don Juan de Vargas, and this by several witnesses. It may be imagined what sort of a country this is, and how much credit is due to the accusations that are made here – and to the witnesses in Manila, who swear to anything that suits a governor. This done, the archbishop replied to the royal decree by challenging the auditors, for the causes which he proved against them. This answer was made a very short time before the governor's death; it was sent to him sealed, and afterward was found with the above accusation – which as some de-

clared, was for the purpose of ruining this Audiencia as he had destroyed the other.

In this condition are affairs at present. Father Fray Raimundo Verart, the instigator of so many disturbances, is going there [*i.e.*, to España], summoned by his Majesty. May it please God that now the misfortunes of this unhappy land may cease.

Information from Filipinas and Nueva España

With the arrival of the galleon from Filipinas in this Nueva España has been unladen a raft [*flota*] of news, which other pens, less awkward than mine, will relate; I can only tell what I have known. In the year 1687 the examiner [*pesquisidor*] – as the Chinese say, the fisherman [*pescador*] – Don Francisco Campos y Valdivia arrived at Manila; according to the reports, it would seem that he went there to encourage anew and continue the malignant acts of the archbishop and the Dominicans, and to pillage the wealth of that community and finally squeeze out of it the little blood that it has. He immediately joined hands with Governor Curuzealegui, the archbishop, and the Dominicans; he selected as his adviser, director, and counselor the Dominican Fray Raimundo Verart, the source of so many disturbances; and – without heeding that his Majesty, on account of the latter's turbulent disposition, had commanded that the said religious should proceed to the court [at Madrid] – he immediately took possession of the said religious, who was with him at all hours of day and night, in his house. [He did so] in order that the religious should prepare for him the documents, acts, and inquiries for which he was commissioned, on account of the illiterate manner in which

the fisherman usually drew them up. From this may be inferred what documents he will carry to the court, with a hand so malicious and bold – but with the safety of the father confessor's broad shoulders, and the cunning tendencies of the chief, of vast piety.

There are more than three hundred thousand pesos, in jewels and commodities, that he has carried away, well guarded; and he is full of confidence of new rewards. I do not doubt that the chief distributor will enjoy a very pleasant time, knowing that the Jesuits remain humbled, trampled down, and without recourse – they, to whom on so many grounds he ought to show himself at least indifferent.

He discharged his fury against the governor, Don Juan de Vargas, and, without allowing him to defend himself – since hardly had Don Juan chosen a lawyer or notary when he awoke in exile – he banished him to a distant place, and among Dominicans. And, to soften this humiliation, the archbishop denied him the absolution that he sought (going up to the prelate's house on his knees), without paying any attention to the strict injunction of his Majesty, or urging the visitor to secure its fulfilment; and demanding an order to carry Don Juan to Mexico, notwithstanding the securities [that he had given] for his residencia. He was left in the hands of the Dominicans and the archbishop, in order that the latter might satiate himself more at leisure with Don Juan's sorrows.

The visitor turned his attention to the auditors, whom he found already exiled by the governor; and, two of them having died a little while before, he sent for the auditor Bolivar. It is reported that the governor, fearing this man, gave orders that they

should put him to death on the route.[168] What is certain is, that as he finished drinking a cup of chocolate, he fell dead, and his finger-nails and lips made known the poison; and it is noted that in the following year, about the same time, the said governor died very suddenly, and in melancholy circumstances – according to rumor and letters, like a beast. The last of the officials, the fiscal Alanis, the visitor brought with him to Nueva España, after having confiscated all his goods and inflicted on him a thousand annoyances – as also the dean, Don Miguel Ortiz. With him came the Dominican Verart, in order that with his assistance the visitor might continue the management of his documents.

About this time began the fury of the archbishop and the Dominicans against the Society. [The remains of] Auditor Grimaldos having reposed five years in the sepulcher of the college at Manila, the archbishop was pricked by scruples on the day of St. Ignatius; and, when the church was full, and the governor and the Audiencia were expected for the fiesta, a notary came in, publishing the declaration that the church was polluted – that the auditor Grimaldos had died impenitent, and that everyone should go out of the church, under penalty of excommunication. The church remained closed until the second day of October. On that day the provisor went and opened the sepulcher, and, seeing therein three corpses, among which he could not distinguish

[168] When Bolivar was arrested, he was sent to "a small fortified post in the province of Cagayán, called Tuao, where he remained until the investigating judge who came to Manila in 1688 ordered him to return [to that city], but he died on the way" (Diaz, p. 788).

the one that he sought, he proceeded to bless what he called the "contaminated" church. The examiner [*i.e.*, Campos y Valdivia], playing the rôle of a reconciler, obliged the fathers of the Society to go to attend a feast-day of the Dominicans, and the latter to be present at another in the Society's house. Afterward the archbishop arranged the cabildo to suit himself, without accepting or noticing the prebends who came appointed by his Majesty, and replaced all of them from his own college of Santo Tomas; and among these were men most unworthy [of such posts], mestizos who were half negro. His principal object is, that if he should die the cabildo may appoint the bishop of Troya as ruler [of the diocese], in order that the disturbances may not cease; and very strong recommendations are going for the court, to appoint in that church the said bishop of Troya, in order that he may more vigorously continue the disputes and lawsuits, which do not cease. Meanwhile, at court let not efforts cease to persuade that this religious order is not suited for sees [*mitras*] so remote – as the father confessor sets forth, and that boldly. In every Dominican there is a bishop, a governor, and an absolute monarch; nor will he acknowledge himself to be a vassal – as is shown by a fiscal reply that comes from Filipinas and will go to the court, in the terms of which is recognized the intention of that prelate [*i.e.*, Barrientos].

In the course of the investigation the visitor did not spare the [belongings required by] decency for the governor's wife, Doña Isabel de Ardila, taking away from her at public auction even the bed and the jewels that she used, and from her husband even the sword that he carried at his belt. The annoyances

inflicted upon the citizens are innumerable; and in order that the jewels and other valuables which he obtained from the seizures of goods should not be sold at a low price, at auctions, he caused them to be knocked down to himself, but in the names of other persons, and he is becoming, therefore, enormously wealthy.

Nor was the archbishop idle at this time. He proceeded to give rules to the new Audiencia as to the manner in which it was to conduct itself, declaring that recourse to it in cases of fuerza and banishment was faulty; and a little later, when urged to absolve Governor Vargas, he replied that he challenged the new auditors for cause, since he considered them all to be in love with the governor's wife. Consequently, it would be necessary that another Audiencia should come, or that, to check lawsuits, they delegate the authority to him – which they refused, since the ecclesiastics are vassals.

In this so tangled web of mischiefs occasioned by his cause, died very suddenly Governor Don Gabriel de Curuzaelegui; so many pecuniary obligations of his were made public that they seem incredible, even to those who do not know the opportunities for profit of that governmental post. He left the administration of his estate to the man who had been the mainstay of his government, Don Tomas de Andaya – a native of Andaya in France,[169] however much he has tried to persuade people that he was born in Viscaya.

On December 19, 1689, the ship "Santo Niño"

[169] Andaye, a fortified town at the mouth of the Bidassoa River, which forms part of the boundary between Spain and France and empties into the Bay of Biscay. Andaye is directly opposite Fontarabia in Spain.

cast anchor in Acapulco, and in it came the dean of Manila, Don Miguel Ortiz de Cobarrubias; the fiscal, Don Lorenzo de Alanis; the Dominican father Fray Raimundo Verart; and the examiner, Don Francisco Campos y Valdivia. The last-named was detained in the said port, continuing some investigations with which he was charged – especially that concerning the registration [of the galleon's cargo] for the year 1684; and in regard to the seizure in the same year of the property of Governor Don Juan de Vargas, in which he supposed there had been some formal act of the royal officials, with information from the viceroy, Marques de la Laguna – investigations all upon uncertain matters, little praised by his subordinates, or acceptable to them. On occasion of receiving a declaration, the examiner compelled General Antonio de Aztina to surrender his authority, at the same time appointing, *de plenitudine potestatis* [*i.e.*, "in the fulness of his power"], as commander Captain Oriosola – who enjoyed this new favor no long time; for the viceroy, Conde de Galvez, being informed of this, immediately gave the appointment of commander to Don Juan de Garaicochea.

On the fourteenth of January, 1690, his investigations being concluded, the examiner left Acapulco, and sent ahead by the fast carriers as many as twenty loads of his own equipage, with a servant, and verbal orders that the guards should give them free passage. Information of this exemption reached the custom-house of this city, and its special judge, Don Juan Jose de Ciga y Linage, stationed officers on the route for safety. The examiner set out, by easy stages, because he was conveying a woman who had lately be-

come a mother – one of his two maidservants, with whom he traveled, whom he had secretly married while in the bay, a little before landing at Vera Cruz; and the said lady died, a few days after leaving Acapulco, and was buried in the town of Cuernavaca. The said freight and equipage arrived at Mexico, and, notwithstanding the orders of the examiner, the following articles were unloaded in the custom-house: twenty-one chests, four boxes, two escritoires, three boxes, one screen, four china jars [*tibores*],[170] one trunk of clothes, and four civet-cats. Permission was given that the animals be sent to the house of Don Geronimo de Chacon, to whom the above goods came directed; but the rest was kept [at the custom-house], the packages being opened, and a list of the goods being made. The said examiner being asked for a load that had gone astray on the journey, he replied, desiring to shield himself and another person, that it did not belong to him, and he knew nothing about it. The cause of this search was, it seems, that secret warning had been given [to the customs officers] of perfumes, fine stuffs, and other goods improper for [the possession of] an examiner.

On the fifteenth of February, 1690, after various protests and threatening statements that the said boxes contained only his clothing, and especially that three contained only the private papers and documents of his visitation and commission, as he resisted surrendering the keys the locks were broken of the said three boxes; and in them was found not one paper. The contents of these, as in the boxes above

[170] These jars are still highly valued by the Malays; see Furness's mention of this, with photographic illustration, in his *Borneo Head-Hunters*, pp. 125, 126.

mentioned, were as follows: three ornamental boxes and two writing-desks of lacquered wood, perfume-caskets, trays, combs, fans, porcelain cups, and curious articles of japanned ware. Besides these, there were forty cases of fans; *item*, eighty-six bundles of untwisted silk, and several libras more of spun silk; *item*, two hundred and seventy-five pieces of stuffs – satin, lampotes, ribbed silk, Chinese silk, velvets, and other wares from Canton; *item*, one hundred and fifty-eight onzas of musk; *item*, three hundred and forty-four pairs of silk hose.

They are sure that he is bringing many more packets in the names of Commander Aztina and Captain Oriosola, the source of these being the fines – which, they say, he regulated more by the wealth than by the faults of the citizens of Manila, levying the fines in merchandise at low prices, by a third hand, that of the said commander. It is currently reported that the bales which he is bringing on his own account, under the names of other persons, exceed one hundred and fifty in number. It is certain that in the custom-house were opened two lots of goods [shipped] in the name of the said commander – one of forty bales of various commodities, and another of thirty bales of Canton silk stuffs, both without invoices; also packets, which show little care and arrangement. This almost entirely confirms the suspicions entertained, all the more as it is well known that the said commander has no wealth, and even hardly enough to eat. But as the merchants of China are here – who have come, like many of the citizens of Mejico, frightened by the extortions imposed in Manila – it is difficult to declare the [contents of the] said packets while the examiner remains in these kingdoms.

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The sources of the documents in the present volume are thus indicated:

1. *Dampier in the Philippines.*– This document is here concluded from VOL. XXXVIII, *q.v.*

2. *Petition for missionaries.*– A printed pamphlet in the British Museum, found in a volume of MSS. and pamphlets, of which this constitutes fol. 710-711; pressmark, "13,992; Plut. CXCI.D."

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4. *The Pardo controversy.*– The matter in this document is obtained from Retana's *Archivo*, i, no. iv; Ventura del Arco MSS., iii, pp. 29-56, 523-571, 621-624, 695-726; and Salazar's *Hist. Sant. Rosario*, pp. 490-513.

5. *Visitation by Valdivia.*– From Ventura del Arco MSS., iii, pp. 589-596, 641-673.

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